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IN THREE VOLUMES

BY

ARTHUR D. INNES

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

AUTHOR OF 'ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

'ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT'

'SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND,' ETC.

VOLUME II

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NOTE

THE concluding chapter of Vol. I. is repeated (with slight modification) as chapter i. in the present volume, for the convenience of students who begin their course with the accession of the House of York.



CHAPTER I

THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES, 1461-1485.

I. The Last of the Barons: 1461-1471.

Edward IV.—The King and the King-maker—Barnet and Tewkesbury.

IN the month of March, 1461, Edward of York was proclaimed in London as Edward IV. Before the end of the month he had shattered the Lancastrian army at the bloody battle of Towton; Henry VI., ^{1.} Edward his queen, and his son were in flight to Scotland. The ^{IV.,} 1461. first stage in the Wars of the Roses had set the Yorkist candidate on the throne of England. Although after nine years there was a short interval during which Henry again wore the crown, the rule of the Yorkist dynasty dates from 1461.

Nevertheless ten years passed before Edward was firmly seated on the throne as the indisputable master of the country. During those ten years, the foremost part in the country's affairs was played by the king's cousin Richard Neville, earl of Warwick; a noble who, though not himself of the blood royal, was powerful enough to win for himself the title of 'the king-maker.' It was not high statecraft or deep political insight that led Edward to overturn the cousin by whom he had himself been raised to the throne, kept there, and then overturned; it was simply the desire of a very able, very unscrupulous, very pleasure-loving, and thoroughly selfish man to go his own way—which happened not to be Warwick's way.

If there had been no clash of wills, or if Edward had been merely the frivolous weak-willed person he chose at first to seem, the result of his accession would have been to place the government of the country in the hands of the Neville family and the families connected with them—a group of nobles, instead of the Plantagenet king who wore the crown. So it would have been also if, in the struggle between Plantagenet and Neville, Warwick had crushed the House of York and restored the Lancaster dynasty as his

Victory of
the Crown,
1471.

own puppets. The king in either case would have become a mere figurehead, and all real power would have passed to a band of great families. But at the end of ten years Edward had conquered. No family or group of families could make head against the Crown. The tyranny of a usurper, or the doubtful title of a king to his crown, might endanger the throne. But the reign of Edward IV. did in fact establish the royal supremacy in the state until it was challenged not by the nobles but by the Commons in the seventeenth century; though the structure of royal power raised by Edward IV. required to be completed by the craft of Henry VII.

POSSESSING brilliant abilities, the young king—he was not quite nineteen when Towton gave him the crown—seldom troubled to exert them, unless he saw that his own immediate interests were at stake. He amused himself, and left the tiresome business of government to his cousin Warwick, whose father had been the brother of Edward's mother. For three years, government meant the suppression of successive Lancastrian risings in the north of England. There had been many battles between the first big fight at Northampton in 1460 and the last at Hexham in 1464; with much blood shed on the field, and much on the scaffold after each victory. Cities and the countryside along the great marching-roads and in the northern counties suffered from the passage of armies, but elsewhere there was not much disturbance. The populace did not suffer from taxation, because the victors filled the treasury from the forfeited estates of the vanquished. In 1464, permanent peace seemed in sight. But the restless Margaret was now seeking aid from France; and Warwick was assuming an air of authority which Edward found annoying.

The rivalry between Burgundy and the French royal House had again become acute. Louis XI., the son of Charles VII., was now on the French throne; Philip of Burgundy was leaving the quarrel with him in the hands of his son Charles the Rash, who was heading a league of the French nobility with intent to reduce the power of the French Crown. Yorkists and Burgundians had a leaning to each other, as the French Crown had a leaning to the queen. Warwick reckoned that if Louis the Crafty were turned against her, the Lancastrian cause would be finally and completely lost. So Warwick, intent upon statecraft, was allowed to open negotiations for Edward's marriage to a French princess; in the middle of which he was informed that the king had already married privately Elizabeth

Grey, widow of one Lancastrian, Lord Ferrars, and daughter of another, Sir Richard Woodville whom Henry had made Lord Rivers. Warwick had good reason for annoyance, for he had been put in a very undignified position. He was more annoyed when estates and offices were showered upon Greys and Woodvilles, and the queen's many sisters were wedded to the heirs of various earldoms, while Nevilles met with no royal favours.

Then Charles the Rash, who succeeded Philip as duke of Burgundy in 1467, made a bid for the English alliance, offering his hand (his first wife having died leaving him only a daughter) to Edward's youngest sister Margaret. The negotiations, entrusted to Warwick, who wanted the alliance of King Louis not of Duke Charles, fell through. Then Warwick was allowed to renew negotiations with France. While he was thus engaged, Edward behind his back completed the Burgundian alliance and the betrothal. The indignant French court again became an asylum for Lancastrian exiles, and a hotbed of Lancastrian intrigues. And Warwick set himself to give a lesson to the man who owed him his throne and had repaid him with shameless ingratitude.

In 1469 Warwick was at Calais when there was a double insurrection in the north, one to protest against 'grievances,' the other openly Lancastrian. Edward marched north to suppress them. Warwick landed in Kent with a force from Calais, and declared not for the Lancastrians but for the redress of grievances. The south supported him. Edward's enemies closed on him; some of his troops were routed; he found himself in a trap, and was taken prisoner.

But Warwick had not changed sides. Edward was still to be king, only he must understand that he was king only because the real ruler of the kingdom, the king-maker, so willed it. The earl married his own daughter to Edward's eldest brother, George of Clarence, and betrothed his nephew and heir (for he had no son) to Edward's eldest daughter; also he executed some Woodvilles. Edward accepted the situation with apparent cheerfulness, as though content to amuse himself and to drop the business side of kingship again. But in fact he was only preparing a counter-stroke against the too confident earl, of whose dictatorship many Yorkists were by this time jealous. An insurrection in East Anglia—mainly Yorkist but unfriendly to Warwick—gave him his chance. He led the Government troops against the insurgents, scattered them at Losecoat Field (so

called because of the haste with which the enemy fled), and then suddenly turned upon Warwick and his ally Clarence who, completely taken by surprise, had barely time to escape to France.

Yet Edward allowed himself to be tricked as he had been tricked before. In spite of the rivers of blood that flowed between them,

Warwick strikes.

Warwick in France was reconciled to Margaret of Anjou.

A Lancastrian restoration was plotted—the luckless Henry had some years before strayed out of Scotland into England, been caught, and confined in the Tower of London as a State prisoner. An insurrection was started in the north in the late summer of 1470; as before Edward went north to suppress it; as before Warwick and Clarence landed in the south and were joined by the Neville connection, but this time with the Lancastrians as their allies. And this time it was Edward who escaped out of the country with the clothes on his back—and with his younger brother Richard, duke of Gloucester—to Charles of Burgundy.

THE king-maker took Henry out of the Tower and proclaimed him king once more, while he tried to secure the active aid of Louis by promising him help against Burgundy—by which he only ensured the more active hostility of Charles; and he had not conquered the mistrust of his new ally and old enemy Margaret. In March (1471) Edward—following the old example of Henry iv.—evaded Warwick's watching fleets and reappeared in Yorkshire, the last place where he was expected, to demand 'not the crown but his dukedoms and earldoms.'

That pretence was dropped quickly enough as the Yorkists from East Anglia hurried to join him. Warwick hastened to the northern midlands to raise his own country. Vere, the earl of Oxford, a thorough Lancastrian, was raising the south-west, on the march to join Warwick: Clarence was raising the south-east, but having turned traitor once to his brother was now preparing to betray his father-in-law, by whose aid he had at first hoped to get the crown for himself from his brother. Edward knew, and Warwick did not know, Clarence's purpose. He made a feint of attacking the earl at Coventry, but wheeled southward—for London and Clarence. Warwick raced to reach London first, but Edward was before him, entered the capital, shut Henry in the

Barnet.

Tower again, and marched out to meet Warwick at Barnet.

The battle was fought in a fog: it ended in the complete rout of the Lancastrians, and Warwick himself was slain on the field.

Almost at the same moment, Margaret was landing at Weymouth to join the Lancastrians in the south. No man could be swifter than Edward when he was moved to energy. He flung himself into the west and within three weeks of the fight at Barnet **Tewkesbury.** destroyed the Lancastrian force at Tewkesbury. Somerset, the last male Beaufort, fell on the field; Edward the young Prince of Wales was slain; Margaret herself was taken prisoner. Of the descendants of Henry iv. none were left but the royal prisoner in the Tower; and before another three weeks had passed it was announced that he too was dead. The suspicion that he was murdered was natural, but there was no evidence to support it. Edward, at the age of thirty, was the undisputed master of England.

In fact there were no other possible pretenders to the throne except descendants from John of Gaunt in the female line. Apart from Beauforts, the royal Houses of Castile and Portugal were **Resistance** out of the question, but a claim might possibly have been **ended.** set up by Westmorland on behalf of his grandson, whose mother was descended from Henry iv.'s third legitimate sister. The Beaufort claim, such as it was, was vested in young Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond (who had been carried off to Brittany for safety), whose mother was one Margaret Beaufort, while another Margaret Beaufort was mother of the young duke of Buckingham, the last duke's grandson. To assert such claims as these as being legally stronger than Edward's would be absurd. At best they provided a title for a pretender in case rank misgovernment made it necessary to depose the legitimate king.

II. The Yorkist Monarchy: 1471-1485.

The New Monarchy—The Reign of Edward iv.—Richard III.'s Usurpation—
The Terror—The Sword of Damocles—The End of King Richard—
The End of Feudalism.

EDWARD had twelve years of rule before his death in 1483. Civil strife was over. Of the old baronial families few survived, at least under the old names. In the last dozen years half the great **i. Edward** estates had been forfeited and were either held by the **supreme,** Crown or distributed among a new baronage raised from **1471.** the gentry and owing their position to the royal favour. Warwick's vast estates were practically divided between the king's two brothers, George of Clarence and Richard of Gloucester, when Richard married

the second daughter, Anne. Parliament in the disorders had not lost its rights, but it had lost its character. In the boroughs, the governing corporations had in practice usurped the right of choosing the representatives who should have been elected by all the freemen. In the counties the sheriffs could generally 'manage' the elections, except where the influence of a local magnate was so strong that it was he, not the sheriff, who really chose the member. A king who appointed the sheriffs and secured the favour of the corporations could pack the House of Commons with supporters, and after Tewkesbury there was not much danger of opposition from the Peers. What is known as the 'New Monarchy' had been brought about by the circumstances of the civil war, not because Edward or any one else had deliberately planned to create it.

There had been two checks on the royal power in the fourteenth century; the king's need of money, of which he could not get enough unless parliament chose to grant it, and the danger of a military combination of the nobles too strong for him to resist. To these a third was added by the accession of the House of Lancaster—the legality of the king's title to the crown could be challenged. With a strong king like Henry v. vigorously carrying out a popular policy, the checks were not felt and the king could go his own way. With a weak king, factions arose which he could not control, leading at last to the appeal to arms, and civil war. When the civil war was ended at Tewkesbury, each of the three checks had been reduced to its lowest power. Edward's legal title could no longer be challenged, the military power of the baronage had been broken, and the king had very nearly all the money he wanted without need of asking parliament for more. If he did not combine all the possible elements of opposition and add to them by wantonly breaking the law, he could do very much as he pleased. This increase in the power of the Crown is what is meant by the New Monarchy. The day was passed when the barons could with any chance of success attempt by force of arms to displace the power of the Crown by their own. The supremacy of the Crown was secure unless its misgovernment made it intolerable, or a king should be on the throne whose title was questionable, or the treasury should be exhausted.

Edward's title was not questionable. Having crushed his enemies, he had no temptation to play the tyrant. Order and the encouragement of commerce and the arts of peace were clearly the way to ensure general content and his own popularity. For the

treasury, it was comfortably filled by the spoils taken from the defeated Lancastrians. And to keep it full, he devised the ingenious and simple method of raising money called Benevolences. Instead of asking parliament for a grant, he invited a wealthy subject to give the king some of the cash which he could so easily spare, as a token of good-will. To refuse would clearly be a sign of ill-will. To show ill-will would be to invite suspicions of treason. Suspicions of treason were likely to lead up to the penalties of treason. It was distinctly more economical to give what was asked with the best grace possible than to run risks.

NOTHING occurred to disquiet the government. The restless and discontented George of Clarence, doubly a traitor already, again aroused his brother's suspicions, was attainted, and died in prison, leaving two young children, a boy and a girl, who inherited their mother's earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury; of whom we shall hear again in later reigns. The remaining brother, Richard of Gloucester, had stood by Edward from the beginning, shared his fortunes in good and evil, fought for him valiantly and skilfully, and now rendered him excellent service as his lieutenant in the north. Neither of his loyalty nor of his ability was there ever any doubt.

Tradition has established Richard as having been from the beginning the evil genius of the House of York, a monster of physical deformity and moral iniquity from his very birth. But the tradition is derived entirely from Tudor historians, who wished to paint him in the most detestable colours, were quite ready to believe all hostile rumours without positive evidence, and started with the conviction that almost from the beginning he was planning to set the crown on his own head. He is charged with having murdered first Henry's son, then Henry himself, then his own brother Clarence (whom he drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, according to the story). There is no evidence that he did any of these things or was suspected of having done them till after he was dead, though it is possible that he did them all. But the one quite certain thing is that he never lost Edward's confidence and rendered him invaluable service all through his reign, while none of his known public or private actions suggest any particular depravity in him.

The one political event of interest in Edward's twelve years of undisputed rule is the French war (1475). He had got help of a kind from Charles of Burgundy, whose second wife was Edward's sister Margaret. The Lancastrians had got help of a kind

from Louis XI. of France. Charles and Louis were engaged in a long struggle—sometimes open war, sometimes a war of intrigue or diplomacy. A French war would certainly be popular in England, still smarting from her defeat. Edward allied himself with Charles and parliament cheerfully voted supplies for a great expedition, which duly crossed the Channel.

Now the English king had repeatedly proved himself a brilliant soldier. From sheer indolence he had twice allowed himself to be surprised and trapped by Warwick, but whenever he had chosen to exert himself he had completely outgeneralled every antagonist, and won every battle he had fought. If he had meant fighting with Louis, campaigns might have been recorded as brilliant as those of Crecy and Agincourt. But neither Edward nor Louis meant fighting. Louis much preferred to buy England off, and Edward preferred to be bought off with the convenient pretext that he was not deserting Charles but had been deserted by him, the duke being at the moment embarrassed by recalcitrant subjects elsewhere. Instead of fighting, Louis and Edward came to terms at the treaty of Pecquigny. Louis was to pay a sum down and an annual subsidy, and Edward was to retire. In England Edward announced that he had humbled the French king and exacted tribute from him. Louis had no objection to humiliation when it appeared to him as sound business, and if Edward chose to call the subsidy tribute he was quite free to do so. From Edward's point of view the treaty was very sound business, for he had not spent half his grant from parliament, and had secured from Louis a handsome addition to his income : which made him even more independent of Parliament than he had been before.

There was every prospect of a long reign, no threat of a disputed succession, when Edward died suddenly after a fortnight's illness in Edward's death, 1483. the spring of 1483. He left two sons, of whom the elder was only twelve, and several daughters. No arrangements had been made for a regency, since the catastrophe had been wholly unexpected. Young Edward was away in the midlands, at Ludlow, with his Woodville uncle Lord Rivers. The queen with the rest of the royal children was in London. Gloucester was away in the north. Which was to be regent, the dead king's brother or his widow ?

THE Protectorship was the question of the moment ; who was to direct the government of the country till Edward v. should be of age ? On

the one side was the dead king's brother, a tried administrator, soldier, and diplomatist. On the other side was a lady who had shown herself clever and virtuous, but whose rule would certainly be that of her kinsfolk, Woodvilles and Greys, a mushroom nobility, quite without distinction, who owed their position neither to high descent, eminent service, nor ability, but simply to the fact that they were relations of a queen who had been 'nobody' until a king chose to marry her.

3. Gloucester, Protector.

The brains and the vigour were all on Gloucester's side. By the time that Rivers was moving towards London with young Edward, Gloucester too was moving, with a train of armed followers, and accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, descended from Edward III.'s youngest son and, after the descendants of Lionel of Clarence and John of Gaunt, the nobleman nearest to the throne. Gloucester intercepted Rivers, arrested him with his nephew Lord Grey, advanced to London with the young king in his hands, and was promptly acknowledged by the Council as Protector. The queen and her children had fled to sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, and her other nearest kinsman had taken flight from the country. Edward was lodged—not 'imprisoned,' but it came to the same thing—in the Tower.

The death of Edward IV. had provided a wholly unlooked-for opening for Richard's ambitions. There had been every likelihood that both the Prince of Wales and his younger brother (another Richard) would reach man's estate long before their father died. No sane man in Gloucester's position would have dreamed soberly of stabbing his way to the throne through the necessary series of assassinations. But now between it and him there stood only children—and there was a way of removing them from his path; not very convincing, but still a legal way. If Edward's marriage had not been lawful, all his children would be illegitimate. Clarence's children could be passed over as having lost their claims to the succession by their father's attainder.

The Protector's schemes.

It would not be easy however to prove the marriage unlawful—public opinion might be dangerously hostile. The men who had been ready to back Richard's claim to the Protectorship against the Woodville group might become open antagonists if he claimed the crown. There was only one way of guarding against that danger—those of them who mattered must be removed. Buckingham as yet was safe, too deeply pledged to break away. But others were in his power.

Henry IV. had captured the crown by usurpation. The usurper, as

was remarked in telling his story, has to choose between two methods of securing himself on the throne he has won—conciliation and terror. Henry chose the former, reigned for fourteen years, and died a broken wreck at forty-five. Richard chose the latter, reigned for two years, and died fighting, at bay, deserted by his followers.

When he had chosen his course, Richard struck at once and without warning. At a meeting of the Council the more prominent of his possible opponents were denounced for treason by the Protector and summarily executed without trial; three, Richard III. were imprisoned. The queen was frightened or tricked into allowing her second boy Richard to join his brother in the Tower. The Terror was immediately effective. A few days later it was publicly proclaimed that the marriage of the late king and the queen had been unlawful, as he was already 'precontracted'—betrothed—to another lady at the time; formal betrothal being then a bar making marriage to another person illegal. No man dared say yea or nay, for Buckingham's and Richard's troops were hard at hand. The story may have been true, but the evidence was not produced. A sort of parliament however was assembled, which was asked by Buckingham to invite Richard to assume the crown as Edward IV.'s legitimate heir. After a show of reluctance, Richard accepted the invitation, and was forthwith crowned king of England. No magnate then in London was absent from the ceremony. Some were doubtless already committed to Richard; some were waiting to see; none dared hint at opposition.

THE coronation took place in July, not three months after Edward IV.'s death. Richard started on a royal progress through the midlands.

4. **Murder of the Princes.** Almost immediately a rumour spread that the boys in the Tower had disappeared. Many years later, confession was made that they had been smothered and the bodies hidden away by one of the murderers. Only after two centuries the skeletons were discovered, walled up. There is no room for doubt that report of the murder went abroad, or that if they had not disappeared proof of the fact would have been produced. The Tudors were able to declare without contradiction that there was no trace of their being still alive at any later date; but some historical inquirers suspect that it was Henry VII. who murdered the boys, invented the story, and suppressed the contradictory evidence. We may however assume that the accepted story was true. The disappearance of the princes and the general belief that they had been murdered fixed Richard in the

popular mind as an unspeakable tyrant, and accounts for the general revulsion against him which explains his fall.

Buckingham until this time had been Richard's most energetic supporter; from this time he was plotting the king's overthrow, and was doing so certainly without any design of seizing the crown himself. Unless he felt complete distrust of his ally, his desertion of Richard was inexplicable. The design he now concocted in conjunction with Bishop Morton was to unite Yorkists and Lancastrians by the marriage of Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth with the exiled Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the representative of the Beauforts (Buckingham's mother being of the younger branch of that family). The Tudors had risen through the marriage of Henry's grandfather, a Welsh gentleman Owen Tudor, to Henry v.'s widow Katharine. Their sons, Edmund and Jasper, had been made earls of Richmond (in Yorkshire) and Pembroke, and the former had married Margaret Beaufort. Henry's descent from Katharine of course gave him no sort of claim to the royal succession.

Henry was now in Brittany. In October, three months after the coronation, Buckingham tried to raise the Welsh Marches—Wales was bound to support a pretender who was not only a Lancastrian but also the head of a Welsh family—and Henry tried to sail from Brittany. A storm stopped the sailing and so swelled the Severn that Buckingham could not pass it. Richard had had warning. He cut off the forces which should have joined hands with Buckingham and the insurrection collapsed. Buckingham himself was captured and executed.

The insurrection had been futile enough; but the duke's desertion had been an ominous warning to the king. If he could not trust Buckingham, there was no man of high position whom he could trust, unless it were John Howard on whom he had bestowed the earldom of Norfolk. The men he could rely on were creatures of his own—Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovell, who were commemorated in the rhyme:—

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog
Ruled all England under the Hog—

that is Richard himself, the wild boar. Whether such men ruled well or ill, the government of upstarts could meet with no favour. Yet Richard could trust no one else, because no one else could trust him, who had struck down without warning men who till the last moment had seemed to enjoy his confidence.

Therefore, for eighteen months, Richard reigned in an atmosphere of suspicion, mistrust, and fear.

Now whether it was because he had the instincts of a statesman who, if he had come to the throne legitimately and without violence, would have made a great ruler; or because he hoped by popular rule. measures to counteract not the fear but the hate which terrorism inspires; his legislation during those eighteen months was sound and beneficial. Notably, two Acts of Parliament were passed, one declaring that Benevolences were illegal, and another which aimed at purifying the administration of justice by checking and punishing the bribing of judges and juries, and their intimidation. In the disorders, especially of the last thirty years, there had been a great increase of these evil practices. For every one who could be called a magnate had his bands of paid retainers constantly under arms, and a magnate who was in any way concerned with a trial which was taking place in his own part of the country could overawe the courts so that they dared not give verdicts and judgments against the parties he was interested in protecting. Still stronger measures were to be taken by Richard's successor for the suppression of this evil, but Richard's efforts in that direction were all to the good.

It may be noticed however that if Richard failed to win popularity thereby, and indeed increased the antagonism of the magnates, he still got his price. Parliament granted to him for life, as it had done to the last three kings, the duties on imports called tunnage and poundage. (The Ancient Customs which under Edward I. had been recognised as belonging to the Crown by prerogative, not requiring parliamentary sanction, were the regular taxes on exports, not imports.)

Had Richard been ruling in peace and security, the country might well have rested content and prosperous under these conditions. But **Perilous waters.** he knew that in the eyes of nine-tenths of the country he was a usurper, and that the majority looked upon him as a treacherous and cold-blooded murderer. He knew that the air was thick with plots against him, and that the pretender Henry of Richmond was at the French court intriguing for his overthrow. An insurrection in Henry's favour backed by a French invasion was not improbable. To keep in readiness for such an invasion a heavy expenditure was needed, and he was driven to illegal devices for raising money. Having prohibited Benevolences, he had to extort them—which was worse than if he had never renounced them. And so the antagonism

went on growing: the more dangerously because it was all beneath the surface.

Richard's anxieties were farther increased by the death of his son. With Edward's daughters barred from the succession as illegitimate, and Clarence's children excluded by their father's attainder—the legal position to which Richard was committed—the next heir was John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, grandson of the duke of Suffolk who had perished in 1450. Suffolk's son had joined the Yorkists and married a sister of Edward and Richard. Thus by a strange irony the king found himself obliged to name as his heir the descendant of the Hull merchant who had been the first commoner to be raised to the peerage. Still the fact gave Lincoln a strong interest in supporting Richard against any other pretender to the throne.

IN the spring of 1485 it was certain that insurrection was brewing, that its figurehead would be the Lancastrian pretender, Henry of Richmond, and that its purpose would be to combine with the 6. Henry of Lancastrians those Yorkists who regarded Edward's Richmond. daughter Elizabeth as the legitimate head of the House of York (though there was no case of a queen claiming the crown in her own right except the Empress Maud three hundred and fifty years before), as Buckingham and Morton had planned. Henry probably knew with certainty the men on whom he could count, the men who would join him if opportunity offered, and the few men who would stand or fall by Richard. The king knew he could count on Norfolk, and thought he could count on Northumberland. He held as a hostage the son of the powerful Lord Stanley, Richmond's stepfather; Stanley therefore was probably secure. For the rest, Richard dared not call them to arms lest they should desert to the enemy in the hour of battle.

In August the blow fell. Henry Tudor landed at Milford Haven in South Wales, a part of the country where he was sure to be surrounded by supporters. With him were many Lancastrians and Bosworth. Yorkists who had preferred the climate of France to that of England. Some few more hastened to join his standard. A week after his landing he was at Shrewsbury, though his force was still a small one. Richard's main force was gathering at Leicester; Stanley was raising troops in the north-west. The two royalist armies converged on the pretender; but Henry knew and Richard guessed that Stanley would betray him if he had the chance—but the chance of open betrayal would not come till he felt that his son's life was safe. He might be

forced to join in the engagement before that moment arrived. Hence it was Henry's object to engage Richard and keep him too busy to waste time on the younger Stanley, before the elder could join in actively.

Therefore, though Henry had the smaller force it was he who opened the attack. Probably he knew and Richard did not that Northumberland as well as Stanley was on his side. Half Richard's troops held back; the rest, led by the king and Norfolk, fought fiercely, and were more than holding their own when Stanley reached the field and struck in. Henry's scheme had worked out with exactness. The new-comer flung himself not on the pretender's flank but on the king's. Deserted by Northumberland and attacked by Stanley, the royalists were overwhelmed. They broke and fled. Richard, Norfolk, and some few others would neither fly nor yield; like Montfort and his staunch followers at Evesham they fell fighting desperately, selling their lives as dearly as they might. On Bosworth field beside a bush where the last stand was made, Stanley found the golden circlet the dead king had worn on his helmet, and set it on Richmond's head, hailing him as Henry VII, the lawful king of England.

THE Wars of the Roses were in appearance what is called a dynastic struggle, a fight to decide whether the crown of England was to be worn by a descendant of John of Gaunt or a descendant of his elder brother, Lionel of Clarence. It did not matter in the least to the country whether the head of the government belonged to the House of Lancaster or to that of York, and it was ended by the marriage of the male head of the one to the female head of the other, so that their son and heir was the head of both houses.

The object with which the wars were fought was of no consequence except to the individuals who hoped to increase their personal power and wealth through the success of the one side or the other. The important outcome of the wars was something which no one had aimed at; it destroyed feudalism. Feudalism means several different things, which were more or less bound up together. What we mean by saying that the wars destroyed feudalism is this. The characteristic of a feudal state is that the great landowners, barons who have no overlord but the king, are almost independent of the royal authority—independent enough at least to threaten armed resistance to it when it pleases them. After the battle of Bosworth the reign of Henry VII. was to show that no baron or groups of barons would ever again be strong enough to

offer successful defiance to the Crown. The destruction had been very nearly completed at Barnet and Tewkesbury. But after Bosworth there was never again any baronial combination against the Crown which the Crown had any difficulty in crushing : whereas, until Barnet, Warwick's nickname 'the king-maker' shows how powerful it had been possible for a single baron to become.

The war had killed off the great families and broken up their estates. It only remained for Henry VII. to add one or two finishing touches to the break-up, and to complete the business by drawing the End of claws of the surviving nobles. The 'claws' had been the feudalism. multitude of armed retainers whom the nobles had maintained in increasing numbers. When the maintenance of retainers was forbidden by law, and disobedience to that law was punished by crushing fines, it ceased to be possible for the nobles to bring trained armies of their own into the field. The insurrections in the reign of the first Tudor, raised in the interest of Yorkist pretenders, were the last writhings of the Wars of the Roses ; but they never came within measurable distance of upsetting the dynasty ; and in fact they merely provided Henry with opportunities for clearing away the remnants of baronial power.

III. The Islands : 1400-1485.

Rural England—Commerce—The Towns—Science—Learning and Letters—
Signs of the Times—Warfare—Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

IN the hundred years after the great peasant revolt the condition of the people in the country districts changed very much. Serfdom, the old villeinage, disappeared. Of course the peasantry i. The end of went on having grievances, some of them real and some villeinage. imaginary ; but they were not the old grievances of compulsory service to a lord. No one felt himself anything but a free man, if his time was his own, unless he chose to sell it to some one else (which is what a man does when he engages himself to work for wages). The countryman who had been a serf paid a rent for his share of the land in his manor, but gave no service. He became a free man as soon as his lord agreed to take rent in place of services. And very early in the fifteenth century the landlords everywhere were allowing their tenants to pay rent instead of giving services, because with the rent they could hire all the services they wanted and pocket something over.

The villein was generally turned into a 'copyholder,' which meant

that he held his land under a written 'deed' or legal paper, and could not be turned out as long as he—or his heirs for generations to come—

The copy-holder. kept their side of the agreement and paid the fixed rent. He did not become a 'freeholder,' a yeoman, with the right of taking part in the business and the voting in the shire court—he was not 'enfranchised'; he was not legally a 'freeman'; but he was actually a free man. Long before the Black Death, landowners had begun to discover that it was good business to take rents. The Black Death had driven them back to demanding service, because of the shortage of labour and the difficulty of getting work done at all. Sixty years after the Black Death, there were once more plenty of men to do the work, and once more the landlords found rent and wages more paying than forced service. The tenant could easily make a living off his land after paying his rent, so that both sides were suited.

But a new trouble was just beginning to take shape. There were coming to be more men who wanted work on the land than land which wanted men working on it. The plot of ground which had served very well to keep John Hodge and his family would not serve, fifty years later, to keep John Hodge's half-dozen grandsons and all their families; some of the grandsons had to get their living not off the scrap of John Hodge's plot which was the most that was left to them, but as labourers for wages. So the number of labourers multiplied faster than the work for them to do increased.

The work would have increased fast enough if more land had been brought under cultivation, but instead of that, land was beginning to go out of cultivation; because it paid better to raise sheep on it than wheat and rye. We must remember that the manor was made up of the tenants' shares (whether they were villeins or freemen), the lord's own share or demesne, and the common which every one could use for wood and turf and pigs and poultry. All that was left was forest-land, or moor-land, or chalk-downs, or fen-land, or bare hill-sides, on which a great deal would have to be spent before it could produce enough to make it worth working. So that if more land was to be turned to account, it would have to come out of the commons; while every one living on the manor objected to having part of the common, in which they all had common rights, taken away and turned into private holdings or (still worse) added to the lord's demesne. Thus there was always strong opposition to bringing fresh land under cultivation.

Now when the Black Death killed off a third of the population, some of the tenants' holdings were left vacant and were added to the lords' demesnes, just as a barony 'escheated' to the Crown when a baron died without an heir or heiress. But the lord could not get enough labour to work what he had already; he worked as much of it as he could, and as much of the rest as he could be put under sheep (for which far less labour was needed) because there was nothing else to be done with it. Then he gradually found out that he could get a good price for all the wool of all the sheep he could possibly breed. The land which had gone out of cultivation because of the Black Death was still not brought back into cultivation when there was more labour to be had; it remained under sheep. But beyond that, the lords began at the end of our period deliberately to put under sheep part of the demesne land which had hitherto gone on being cultivated.

Pasture
displaces
tillage.

This did no harm to the tenants, freeholders or copyholders, who had holdings off which they could make their living, but it was bad for the men whose living depended mainly or entirely on wages. The 'supply' of labour was now much bigger than the 'demand' for it; there was not work enough to go round: there were more labourers wanting jobs than jobs wanting labourers, and wages were low. But this only came about by degrees; for all the time the French wars were going on, the more adventurous men were drawn off to go fighting, and, besides that, they could take service with the bigger nobles as 'retainers': and that went on all through the Wars of the Roses. When Henry VII. overturned Richard III., the trouble of unemployment (which means generally that the supply of labour is greater than the demand for it) was not yet seriously felt. But before the century was over it had become serious, and it remained one of the gravest troubles of the Government till near the end of the next century.

In spite of the long French war, and the civil strifes which went before and after it, industries, foreign commerce, and the general wealth increased during the fifteenth century. Before it opened, the English had discovered that besides having a bigger foreign market for their wool through the association of the staple merchants and the arrangement of the staple towns, they could themselves make cloths which could compete with those made by the Flemings. And from this two things followed. The cloth-makers

2. Increasing exports.

wanted all the wool they could get, and they wanted to sell their cloth abroad as well as in England; and so, between the English cloth-makers and the Flemish cloth-makers the English wool-growers could sell all the wool from all the sheep they could raise, and (as we saw) began to prefer sheep-breeding to corn-growing; and the cloth-makers became eager to sell their wares in Europe instead of waiting for traders from the Continent to come and buy it if they wanted it.

The setting up of the Staple at Calais on the other side of the Channel had really started the idea of *seeking* a market instead of sitting at home

and waiting for purchasers. But English wool needed no pushing—the foreigner was bound to buy it if it was reasonably easy for him to get it. But to sell English cloth was quite another thing, with the Flemings to compete against. Wherever the English tried to go, the Flemings were there first, with a big reputation; besides traders from other German towns to whom privileges had already been granted which gave them great advantages; and these competitors did their best to prevent the English from pushing a way into the market which they had kept and meant to keep to themselves.

And so early in the reign of Henry IV. a new trading association called the Merchant Adventurers was started, whose business was not selling staple goods in staple towns—no one but the merchants of the Staple had permission to do that—but to sell other goods. Like the staple merchants they got a charter from the Crown which forbade Englishmen to take part in this trade unless they joined the association. Such an association could bargain for privileges, as single merchants could not; the single merchant with the association at his back could get fair play and protection against injustice in a foreign town, when he could not do so standing alone; and he had to obey the rules of the association which would punish him if he was dishonest in his trading, so that the foreigners were readier to trust him than they would otherwise have been. Consequently in the course of the century the Merchant Adventurers were beginning to get a real share of the trade with the ports in the North Sea and the Baltic and even the Mediterranean. Thus English ships and sailors went on much longer voyages than they had been in the habit of doing before. English seamen had proved themselves more than a match for French seamen ever since Sluys; now the growth of commerce was making them rivals of the seamen of the Mediterranean states who had hitherto been without rivals except the Portuguese.

COMMERCE grew because the English people had taken to making things which other people outside England wanted, especially cloth; and at the same time they were doing for themselves and making for themselves more and more of the things they had left to foreigners, which meant more trade at home. More trade at home and more commerce abroad meant that the distinction between the three classes of persons who were engaged in trade was growing more marked—the master-craftsmen who if they were doing much business had apprentices and journeymen working under them to whom they paid wages; the journeymen who worked for wages under a master; and the merchants who were now for the most part not craftsmen at all but men who bought goods from the makers or growers in England or from foreign merchants and sold them again at a higher price—buying ‘wholesale’ in large quantities and selling either wholesale or ‘retail’ in small quantities.

3. Merchants,
Masters,
and Men.

The craft-gilds, or associations of the people engaged on each particular craft in each borough, had taken the place of the old gild-merchant, for the regulation of trade in the borough; fixing prices and wages and working hours and insisting on a proper quality of work. The masters or merchants who counted as being of the craft managed the affairs of the gild and the heads of the gilds formed the Corporations who managed the affairs of the borough. The journeymen might form gilds of their own, but there are few signs of the antagonism between them and the craft-gilds such as often appeared in the cities on the Continent.

Craft-gilds.

The gild was not like a modern trade union, because only masters were on the managing body; besides it was becoming more and more difficult every year for journeymen to start on their own account as masters. When the interests of masters and men conflicted, each side was pretty sure to think that right was on the side of its own interests, and the masters were pretty certain to get their own way. Still the gilds served many of the purposes of a trade union. Masters as well as men were kept up to the mark, because it was the interest of the whole trade in the town that had to be considered; and the gilds also acted as thrift-societies and spent money for the benefit of all their members.

But the gilds belonged to the boroughs; it was difficult for outsiders to get into them, and because the masters—and the men too—wanted to keep the work and the profits in their own hands, the gild regulations increased the difficulty for a new man of

New trade-centres.

setting up for himself and for new journeymen of 'taking the bread out of the mouths' of those who were there already. But outside the boroughs there were no gilds and the new trade grew up in the unchartered towns where there was no way of setting up regulations and restrictions; and this was especially the case with the cloth-working. And the result of this was that the new towns took away the trade from some of the old towns; so that we find some old boroughs bewailing the decay of trade and lamenting their poverty while other new places were rapidly growing in wealth.

One thing shows that a great many people were becoming wealthy by means of trade, and that is the large number of costly buildings that were raised for public purposes, not only by great land-owners but by citizens, or rather by their money which was often given to the Church to be expended in this way. Henry VI. out of his piety set the example of founding schools; and it may not have been altogether from piety that rich men followed the royal example. But it needed rich men to do it. And if a number of rich men did it there must have been a much larger number who spent their wealth on themselves: so we can be quite sure that there were a great many more men who had grown rich by trade in the time of Henry VI. than there had ever been before.

THIS private spending of money on schools shows not only that the money was there to spend, but that some people were getting educated and were seeing the need for educating their less fortunate neighbours.

Science was still almost a forbidden subject, a seeking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge with which Satan had tempted our first parents in the Garden of Eden. It was a prying into the secrets which were not intended to be revealed to man. The wise men of the ancient pagan world had found out quite as much as was good for us to know; the Church had given its sanction to what they had handed down, and to question their authority now verged on heresy, if it did not suggest intercourse with the Devil—whose active personal interference in human affairs and occasional appearance in more or less human form the vast majority of people believed in devoutly. (We have had examples of that sort of belief in the condemnation of Joan of Arc and the follies of Humphrey of Gloucester's duchess; and Richard of Gloucester is said to have charged the men whom he struck down with practising the 'Black Art' against him.)

All the same, the spirit of inquiry was becoming very active, though it had not yet led to any startling scientific discoveries. It had led accidentally to the invention of gunpowder some time earlier—of which we shall have more to say later on in this chapter—and to the mechanical invention of the printing press, by Gutenberg, about 1442.

Scientific inquirers however were chiefly absorbed in two pursuits which seem absurd enough to us. They studied the stars because they believed that their movements influenced human actions and that by the study of astrology the future could be foretold. And they studied chemistry because they believed that they could find out a way of transmuting metals or other substances into gold by means of the 'philosopher's stone'; so that the man who discovered the way to do it would become fabulously rich. In course of time a vast amount of really valuable knowledge was to come out of these inquiries and experiments—though the future is still concealed from us and no one has yet turned lead into gold!

Astrology
and
Chemistry.

THE learning that most men sought was of a different kind. Much of it was concerned with extremely difficult subjects which generally seem to be of the very greatest importance to the people who are attracted to them, and of none whatever to the people who are not: subjects which all have some connection with the science of theology, which is concerned with the relations between God and man—what we believe about those matters with our brains; which is not the same thing as religion, what we feel about them in our hearts.

5. Question-
ings.

Just as the Church taught that no one ought to doubt what had been laid down by authority about natural science or to discover more than it is good for us to know, so it taught that in this other science, theology, no one should question what had been laid down by authority, what had been pronounced by the Church to be true, its 'dogmas' or doctrines. But we have seen that before the fifteenth century began, John Wiclif in England was already calling some of these dogmas in question, and a few years later John Huss was doing the same thing in Bohemia. And though Lollards were suppressed and John Huss was burnt, there were more and more people whose studies set them doubting, though they might be too cautious to express their doubts openly. Everywhere there was the consciousness awakening that what had been laid down by authority might after all be wrong. And along with this was another feeling that what really had been laid down was right, but that the thing that was being taught was often something different because

of the ignorance of the teachers themselves; better education was necessary for those who would in their turn become teachers.

And then with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, came the scattering of Greeks over south Europe; bringing with them a much greater knowledge of the splendid ancient Greek literature and the Greek language in which the New Testament had originally been written. And this was just at the moment when printing presses were beginning to be set up, making it easier for many people to get books to read, and for hundreds of people to read for themselves instead of only being told by other people what they had read; and just because it was so much easier they read eagerly, and the more they read the more they wanted to read, so that there was a new thirst for knowledge. And this was going on all over Europe, and in England as well as in Europe, though it was not till 1477, six years before the death of Edward iv., that Caxton set up the first printing press in England in the precincts of Westminster Abbey.

In spite of all this however, the fifteenth century gives us no English writers worthy to rank beside Chaucer or anywhere near him, though he had his imitators or followers. The Scots did not produce a Chaucer, but they did produce the best poetry of the century in our language; and the best poet was no less a person than the king of Scots, James i., who wrote a poem called 'The Kingis Quhair' (that is, Book) while he was a prisoner in England, telling the story of his own love-romance; how, a captive in the Tower, he saw and loved Joan Beaufort, the maiden who became his queen.

The fifteenth century—until its last quarter—is not a time in which we actually see great changes taking place. It all looks very much like the fourteenth, just as the fourteenth looks very much like the thirteenth. But it is a time when if we look below the surface of things we see that the way is being prepared for a whole series of revolutions. The Portuguese explorers creeping down the African coast were leading towards the opening of the great Atlantic and Indian Oceans as highways to new worlds. The Italians had already created a new modern literature and a new modern art of painting, though it was still very slowly that other countries were following their lead. The Germans invented the printing press, though as yet few presses had been set up. Wiclif in England had challenged the authority of the Pope even in matters of religion, though the voice of criticism was still stifled. During the third quarter of the century, feudalism

was destroying itself in England; France, freed from the foreign invader, was shaping like England into a solid kingdom; a fortunate marriage between the Queen of Castile and the Crown Prince of Aragon was giving Spain her chance of consolidation. The Austrian House of Hapsburg was beginning by marriages to connect—it cannot be said, to unite—under its sway dominions whose vast extent caused the Hapsburg power to overshadow Europe for a couple of centuries, though so far it was only beginning—Maximilian, son and heir of the Hapsburg Emperor Frederick III., having just married the heiress of Charles of Burgundy.

THERE remains however another of these coming changes of which we have hardly seen the warning—though the warning was there—a change in the methods of warfare. Since the days of Edward I. the main fighting forces in the field had come 7. Warfare. to be not masses of mail-clad horsemen but masses of mail-clad infantry, heavily-armed spearmen fighting on foot. Flemings, Switzers, Scots, and English had shattered the old belief that foot soldiery could not stand against cavalry charges. For a hundred years the English had enjoyed the special advantage of archery with which they made havoc of mail-clad men whether mounted as at Crecy or on foot as at Agincourt; but during the century the defensive armour was growing thicker and heavier, with the joints better guarded, so that even the English arrows were becoming less effective and battles were decided by push of pike, almost by sheer weight of the spearmen. Yet here too Agincourt should have given a warning. The armour was getting so heavy that the comparative activity of lightly-armed men like the archers was before very long counting for more than weight, and the heavy armour was disappearing all through the next century.

But the most decisive change in the manner of fighting was coming from the use of gunpowder. As yet it was hardly employed in the field. Cannons were clumsy, heavy, difficult to move. Gunpowder. They were not brought into battle though Edward III. seems to have had a couple of guns of some sort at Crecy which made a noise but did no particular harm. But guns had come into general use for sieges. They could batter down walls which defied the old-time battering rams. They were very much in use in Henry V.'s war of sieges; it was the bursting of a cannon which killed James II. of Scotland at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460—which does not say much for the guns, but shows how much they were coming into use. The

point had been reached at which improvements in guns and gunnery became rapid. Thirty years later, field-guns were proving of service, and the hand-gun or 'arquebus' was taking the place of the crossbow and even of the longbow.

THE insurrection of Owen Glendower in the reign of Henry iv. was the last attempt in Wales to assert a separate political nationality for the

8. Wales. Principality. Even that was not a general national movement, but needed the artificial stimulus of Glendower's personal interest and influence. He was able to maintain his defiant attitude to the day of his death in spite of repeated English campaigns, but there was no general Welsh resistance to the English connection, and what there was flickered out with his life. The Principality was under a separate administration from England, which though not national paid a sufficient regard to Welsh customs and sentiments and prejudices to satisfy the population. The marriage of a Welshman, Owen Tudor, to the widowed mother of Henry vi. brought that family into prominence; their son married the daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; the offspring of the marriage, Henry Tudor, became the representative of the House of Lancaster and ultimately king of England and ancestor of every monarch who has reigned since his day. Since Bosworth set a Welsh dynasty on the English throne, Welsh loyalty to the Crown became a matter of course; but this is looking forward. Before Bosworth the loyalty of Wales was given, throughout the civil strife, to the House of Lancaster.

Ireland on the other hand was consistently Yorkist. The Mortimers inherited the great Irish estates, and the connection with great Irish families, of Lionel of Clarence; one after another, from

Ireland. Lionel down to Richard of York, was lieutenant of Ireland, in touch with Irish chiefs, and personally popular. Hence we shall presently find that Ireland remained a hotbed of Yorkist intrigues and plots, though the real motive was not so much loyalty to the House of York as hostility to the English Government.

Wales and Ireland were both under English rule. Scotland was an independent kingdom, wholly outside English rule. The English dominion was divided into two parts—England proper, Scotland. with its English speech; Wales and Ireland, with their Celtic speech and traditions. So also Scotland was in two parts—geographically distinguished as the Lowlands and the Highlands—the Lowlands with the Scots speech and traditions having a general like-

ness to those of England, a composite of Celt, Saxon, and Norman; the Highlands, like Wales and Ireland, Celtic in tradition and speech. In the Lowlands as in England the Celt had become fused with the Saxon and Norman; in the mountains and islands, as in the Welsh mountains and in Ireland, he had not. As late as the fifteenth century there was a great Highland rising, the intention of which may have been to establish a separate Celtic kingdom. Robert of Albany was regent of Scotland at the time, and the rising, led by Donald of the Isles, was broken at the great fight of Harlaw (1411), which is called 'the Red Harlaw.' This was the last attempt of the kind; but three centuries and a half were still to pass before the fusing of Highlanders and Lowlanders really began—and even now it is hardly more complete than the fusing of Welsh and English.

Though the Lowlands have a likeness to England, the differences were marked. In England, the power of the barons over their tenants had been curbed by the power of the king's courts, and every strong king from Henry II. down had suppressed the ^{Feudalism} practice of private wars between baron and baron. ^{in Scotland.} But in Scotland, in the two hundred years after the death of Alexander III., there were only three strong kings, Robert Bruce, James I., and James II. Bruce reigned twenty-three years; James I. began his actual reign after his captivity in England very nearly a century after Robert's death, and had only thirteen years in which to reform the government. James II. was a minor for the first dozen years of his reign, and had his father's work to do over again in the next eleven years. In those years he broke the most powerful of the barons, the 'Black' Douglasses, and made himself master of the kingdom—so effectively that even during the regency which followed his death in 1460 the government could hold its own. But again there was a long minority; the first regent, Bishop Kennedy, died; the old troubles started afresh; James III. as he grew up proved to be very much like Edward II. of England; and the 'Red' Douglasses of Angus began to take very nearly the place of the Black Douglasses before them. The Wars of the Roses shattered the feudal power of the baronage in England; but in Scotland the baronage was still too strong to be controlled by Crown and Church together.

CHRONOLOGY

1460-1485.

ENGLAND

1460. Battle of Wakefield.
 1461-83. EDWARD IV.
 1468. Burgundian Alliance.

 1470. Flight of Edward.

 1471. Barnet and Tewkesbury.
 1475. Treaty of Pecquigny.
 1477. Caxton's printing press.

 1483. EDWARD V.
 1483-85. RICHARD III.
 1483. Buckingham's rebellion.
 1485. Battle of Bosworth.

SCOTLAND AND EUROPE.

- 1460-88. *James III., king of Scots.*
 1461-83. Louis XI., king of France.
 1464-77. Rivalry between Louis XI. and Charles of Burgundy.
 1469. Isabella of Castile *m.* Ferdinand of Aragon.
 1471. Sixtus IV., Pope.

 1477. Death of Charles of Burgundy.
 Maximilian *m.* Mary of Burgundy.
 1483-98. Charles VIII., king of France.

CHAPTER II

TRANSITION, 1485-1520.

I. The Changing World : 1485-1520.

New International Conditions—The Hapsburg Dominion—Middle, North, and East Europe—Christendom—Discovery—Expansion.

UNTIL the accession of Henry Tudor to the throne of England, the only European state with which this country had been directly concerned, since the Danish connection ceased in the eleventh century, i. England had been France—except for the brief complication with and Europe. Castile in the late years of Edward III. But from the days of Henry VII. onwards, England has a constant interest—sometimes great, sometimes apparently small, but an interest which is always present—in the affairs of Europe generally.

What are the causes of this change ? It comes to England in the first place through France. France's foreign relations have hitherto been concerned almost entirely with England. France is thenceforth involved in relations with other European Powers, and because France is involved England is involved also ; since England is constantly jealous of every increase in France's power. But why then should France after all these centuries suddenly find herself colliding with other Powers besides England, Powers with which she had never seriously clashed before ?

One part of the answer to that question is simple. The contests between the Crown and the great feudatories, especially the dukes of Aquitaine who were also kings of England, had kept her New too busy, down to the middle of the fifteenth century, to rivalries. allow her to indulge ambitions beyond her own borders, and there was not as yet on her land-borders any great state whose interests clashed with hers.

But in the third and fourth quarters of the fifteenth century these conditions were disappearing or had disappeared. First, in 1453 France had cleared the English and the English kings out of the country

altogether, with the exception of the Calais Pale. Next, during the following five-and-twenty years, the French Crown had mastered the rest of the French feudatories. The long struggle between Louis XI. and Charles of Burgundy had left the French Crown, not the duke, in possession of the provinces within the French border over which the dukes had borne sway for a century. The Crown of France, not the duke (as Charles had expected) inherited Provence on the death of René (the father of Henry VI.'s queen Margaret). Brittany was the only dukedom left with the old claims to partial independence. And thirdly, France had on her borders in the fourth quarter of the century two Powers whose interests clashed with her own—Burgundy on the east and Spain on the south.

First, then, for Burgundy, the name we shall still use for the dominions of the House of Burgundy outside France. When Charles

Burgundy. the Rash was killed in 1477 his heiress Mary (the daughter of his first wife, not of his childless widow Margaret the sister of Edward IV.) married the Hapsburg Maximilian, 'king of the Romans,' the son and heir of the Emperor Frederick III. Burgundy, of which the most important part was the Low Countries or Netherlands, went to the child of this marriage, the Archduke Philip; it became a Hapsburg province, a single dominion; between whose ruler and the king of France there was bound to be an endless quarrel over the claims of each to territory actually in possession of the other. This Burgundian state had only grown up during the fifteenth century, combining under one ruler a large number of small principalities which had not before been united.

Secondly, in the Spanish peninsula, hitherto divided into five kingdoms of which the smallest was Navarre in the north-west, a

Spain. greater Spanish kingdom was created between 1470 and

1480 by the union of the Crowns of the two largest kingdoms through the marriage of Ferdinand, the Crown Prince (who became king) of Aragon, to the Queen Isabella of Castile; who together very soon afterwards conquered and annexed the third (Moorish) kingdom of Granada, thus combining under one monarchy the whole peninsula except Portugal, and Navarre most of which they also succeeded in absorbing. Between France and Spain there were territories in dispute on the Pyrenees.

Then beyond this there arose in the third quarter of the century further sources of conflict between France and each of these Powers, Spain and the Hapsburgs, in another region—Italy; since both France

and Aragon laid claim to the kingdom of Naples; and French kings made claims to the northern duchy of Milan which were disputed by the 'king of the Romans.' Now at the end of the fifteenth century there were no Hapsburg interests and no Spanish interests which clashed with those of England, while England and the Netherlands had a very lively mutual interest in their commerce; and on the other hand there was a centuries-old tradition of hostility between French and English. Consequently England had a natural attraction to the side of the Hapsburgs or Spaniards in their quarrels with France. It was to the interest of Hapsburgs and Spaniards to turn the attraction into active alliance though they might have to pay something for doing so, while it was in the interest of France to keep England neutral though she might have to pay something for doing so. And finally it was in the interest of England always to hold the balance; which meant in the long run that none of the three Powers should be helped to become so strong that it could afford to risk incurring her ill-will. Thus to preserve the *Balance of Power* became a standing aim of English policy. The *Balance of Power* was a new political idea; new, not because it was born in the brain of an English statesman, but because until this time there had been no Powers between which the balance was to be held.

THIS was the new situation which came into existence in the second half of the fifteenth century. France and Spain had both reached the stage of becoming strong single united states—which England had arrived at as far back as the reign of Edward I.; and in all the three the feudatories had ceased to be able to challenge the power of the Crown. Also the Austrian House of Hapsburg was establishing—though it had not actually established—a claim to hereditary succession to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, which by law was not hereditary but elective; and it had become the most powerful of the many Houses which ruled over the many states comprised in that empire. The European system of great states had come into being.

But that system was to undergo a great deal of change during the sixteenth century; first because for nearly forty years the head of the Hapsburgs and the empire was also king of Spain; secondly because the Reformation came and crossed the national division into states by the religious divisions of Papalists and Protestants; thirdly because the discovery of a new world on the other side of the Atlantic and the

Italy.

Balance of Power.

2. The New Factors.

rediscovery of an old world on the other side of Africa (both in the last ten years or 'decade' of the fifteenth century) gave the European nations entirely new fields of rivalry. The Spaniards were the first in the field in the West, the Portuguese in the East; till the middle of the century they had it to themselves; but then the English and French and finally the Netherlanders began to come in as competitors, and dominion on and beyond the great oceans became the leading cause of conflict between the maritime *ocean-going* Powers.

Before we turn however to the Reformation and the maritime expansion we will try to clear up the European situation. The position of England, France, and Scotland remains unchanged on the whole; but the head of the House of Hapsburg becomes both king of Spain and emperor. Once more a marriage is the explanation. The Archduke Philip, son of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian, inherited Burgundy and was heir to the rest of the Hapsburg dominions. He married Joanna, the eldest daughter of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, who had no son; Joanna therefore was their heiress. Philip and Joanna had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand; therefore Charles was heir to the Burgundian dominions, the Hapsburg dominions, and Spain, after his father and mother. Philip died before his own father and his wife's father; so that Charles succeeded first to Burgundy, then to Spain (and with Spain to the Sicilies—the Island and Naples—which had finally come into Spain's possession), then to Austria and (by election) to the imperial crown (1519), all before he was twenty.

Now at first sight it would be natural to suppose that the Balance of Power was wiped out—the dominions of Charles were so vast as compared with those of France. But his strength was not what it seemed; the dominions were not united. The Spaniard was as much a foreigner to the Netherlander as he was to the Englishman. The only communication between Spain and the Netherlands was across France, or by way of the English Channel (so that it could be blocked by French armies or English fleets). The Austrian provinces did not form a continuous territory; Burgundy could be reached from Austria only through other German states, and though Charles was emperor, his control over those states was less than that of the old kings of France over the old dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, or Burgundy. Also Charles had on his hands the constant menace of a Turkish attack on Austria by land or on his Italian dominion as king of the Sicilies by sea. And finally he was hardly seated on the imperial

throne when Luther's challenge to the Papacy set all Germany by the ears, kept it on the brink of civil war for over five-and-twenty years, and finally plunged the empire into actual civil war.

And then just after the middle of the century, the abdication and death of Charles v. brought about another change. Spain and Burgundy went to his son Philip II., Austria and the imperial succession to his brother Ferdinand. A Hapsburg, but not the same Hapsburg, ruled in Spain and in Austria, and for the next century and a half the 'Spanish' Hapsburg and the 'Austrian' Hapsburg are by no means always in harmony with each other.

WE must also however look at the rest of Europe and remind ourselves that it was very different from the Europe we know. First there was

3. The the empire: which at the end of the fifteenth century in-
Empire. cluded most of what is now called Germany but not all of it, together with what is now Austria (not the Austrian empire which was dissolved by the Great War), the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium), Alsace and Lorraine, and Switzerland. North Italy too was nominally under the emperor's suzerainty. The empire was a collection of self-governing states some big and some small, some of them ecclesiastical with archbishops or bishops as their rulers, others under lay princes, dukes, counts, or marquesses, some 'Free Cities' which were small republics; and besides these there were a great number of knights who were lords over their own estates and had no overlord except the emperor himself. Half-a-dozen of the greatest princes, lay or ecclesiastical, had the title of Elector—the Elector Palatine (whose dominions were called the Palatinate), the Elector of Brandenburg (who two centuries later became king of Prussia), the Elector of Saxony (which was in two parts, half being under another duke), and three archbishops. They, along with the king of Bohemia, which was not otherwise included in the empire, had the right of electing the emperor. The Hapsburg archdukes, the dukes of Bavaria, Burgundy, and Saxony (the other half of it), were princes as powerful as any of the Electors, but they had no voice in the election of the emperor. Affairs which concerned the empire as a whole were settled in Diets or Councils of the Empire—a kind of parliament, but very unlike the English parliament. For the people who counted in it were the 'College' of Electors and the Assembly of Princes. An assembly of the knights and the representatives of the Free Cities would have been something like the English House of Commons, but they had practically no voice in the deliberations of the

Diet, which was really a council of princes or nobles not unlike the Magnum Concilium of William the Conqueror or Henry II.

Then outside the empire was the Scandinavian kingdom, joined together, but not united into one state like England, France, or Spain, under the Crown of Denmark; from which Sweden was soon to separate itself. On the east of the empire were the

The North
and East.

Three elective monarchies of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary (Bohemia corresponding to the Czecho-Slavs); beyond them again the still very formless dominion of Russia or Muscovy, an unknown and barbaric region; and on the south in the Balkan Peninsula the advancing Ottoman empire with its capital now established at Constantinople, and with the Carpathians and the Middle Danube as its very uncertain boundaries. During the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Ottoman lordship was fully established all over Western Asia and in Egypt, and was extending over all the Moslem states on the North African coast under Selim and Solymán the Magnificent who declared himself Khalif, the head of the Mohammedan religion. The Turkish fleets were the most powerful in the eastern Mediterranean; while on the European continent Hungary was the buffer between the Ottomans and Austria. We may add here that the Hapsburg Ferdinand (brother of Charles V.) received from Charles the Austrian portion of the Hapsburg dominion—the old Hapsburg inheritance—and in addition obtained his own election to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary which were thenceforth attached to the Austrian House.

IN Mediaeval Europe the whole structure of society centred in a single idea—that of the unity or oneness of Christendom, of all Christian peoples. Similarly the Mohammedan world centred in the single idea of the oneness of all Mohammedan peoples. In the Mohammedan idea there was a single person, the Khalif, who was God's lieutenant or vicegerent, alike in things temporal and things spiritual, in matters of state and in matters of religion. In the Christian idea there were two vicegerents, one temporal the other spiritual, the Emperor and the Pope. Neither Emperor (unless it were Constantine the Great, in the fourth century) nor Pope had ever in actual fact been supreme over all Christendom even in his own sphere, though sundry emperors and popes had aimed at supremacy in both spheres. For a thousand years Eastern and Western Christendom were separated both spiritually and temporally; England never acknowledged any imperial supremacy, nor after the ninth century did France

4. Mediaeval
Christendom.

or Spain. Still the idea that Christendom somehow ought to be one was there; if the kings were not the emperor's subjects, they still regarded him as in some sense their superior, though not much was left even of that feeling—outside of Germany—after the middle of the thirteenth century.

But in the second half of the fifteenth century the imperial idea of Christendom vanished altogether. A king or an emperor might still dream of building up a universal dominion by wars or dynastic marriages; but he would have made himself not the embodiment of a unified Christendom but only the head of a group of nations linked together under a single ruler. The growth and consolidation of the great states, England, France, and Spain, had set in the place of the idea of Christendom the idea of distinct nations. And not their unity but their rivalry was emphasised by their common desire to possess, each for itself, the new worlds to which the mariners were finding the way.

Imperial unity had faded out; Religious unity was on the point of dissolution. All Western and Central Europe had been embraced by the single religious organisation, the Church, with its one unquestioned head, the lawful Pope—though there had been differences as to who was the lawful Pope. Every one professed the same beliefs, acknowledged the same sacraments, followed the same ceremonial, revered the same saints; the clergy, in whatever country, were members of the same body and wielded the same spiritual authority. Beliefs, sacraments, ceremonial practices, saints, clerical authority—all were to be called in question, and most emphatically the central authority of all, the Papacy. We postpone for a time the further examination of this question.

FROM the rebuilding of Europe we turn to its expansion; which does not mean that more of the world was included under the name of Europe, but that the European peoples including the English—the Scots did not come in till later—began to have dealings with distant lands of whose existence they had hitherto known nothing or very little.

Until quite near the end of the fifteenth century, the 'known world,' the world known to the civilised peoples of Europe, was no more than a fraction of the earth's surface. There were only very ancient traditions, which most people looked upon as mere fables, of any one having gone southward as far as the Equator; the southern hemisphere

as untouched. On the west, no one knew that there were lands on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean; it was either disbelieved or forgotten that nearly five hundred years earlier the Norsemen had actually sailed as far as what we call Greenland and Labrador, which they called Vineland.' Eastwards, even in Europe, most of modern Russia—that lies east of a line drawn from the top of the Baltic to the west of the Black Sea—was unexplored country to other Europeans. In Asia, none but the most venturesome European travellers had gone east of the Persian Gulf for centuries; the Mohammedan power had blocked the way to India and China which the English called Cathay. Practically nothing was known of the great civilised empires which existed in both. The Far East was a land of monsters, marvels, and magic. As for Africa, Egypt and the lands along the Mediterranean coast were known as Western Asia was known; but all was under Mohammedan dominion.

It was only in the third quarter of the fifteenth century that Portuguese sailors following the East African coast had crept down to the Equator and passed into that half of the world where The way to the sun shines in the northern sky. It was not till the India, 1498. year after Henry VII.'s accession that Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed in the Indian Ocean. Twelve years later, in 1498, Vasco da Gama crossed that ocean and reached the south-western shores of India at Calicut. The ocean route turned the flank of the Mohammedan barrier, and the way to India was opened to the Europeans. The wealth of 'the Indies' was fabled to be enormous, and to reach India had been the aim of the Portuguese explorers.

It was with the same aim that the Genoese Christopher Columbus started on his famous voyage westward across the Atlantic six years earlier, in 1492. After sailing for weeks out of sight or The New reach of land across the trackless ocean, farther and farther World, 1492. to the vast unknown, he came upon the islands which, to the day of his death, he believed to be a part of India—the West Indies, whose inhabitants as a matter of course were (and are to this day) called Indians though another and still vaster ocean divides them from India itself. Columbus sailed under the patronage and in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella. Thus whatever rights (as against other Europeans) belonged to the discoverers of new lands fell to Spain in the West and to Portugal in the East.

Now of this there was a curious consequence. It was held generally that pagan lands were in the gift of the Pope as the 'Vicar of Christ.'

So when Columbus made his discovery, the ruling Pope Alexander VI. drew a line across the map of the world from north to south, and The Pope's decreed that all lands discovered east of that line should line. belong to Portugal, and all west of it to Spain. Only just afterwards the Portuguese discovered the shoulder of South America, called the Brazils, which projects across Pope Alexander's line into the Portuguese half of the world. So that piece of America went to Portugal. The name of America came from the Italian Amerigo Vespucci who was sailing with the Portuguese expedition which discovered Brazil.

At the time, nobody except Spaniards and Portuguese troubled themselves greatly about the Pope's 'donation.' No one else—except North English sailors under the Genoese captains John and America, Sebastian Cabot—had discovered anything or was thinking 1497. much about such desperate adventures as crossing the Atlantic in the little sailing-boats of those days. Bristol sailors had the idea in their minds when Columbus started. The Cabots were settled in Bristol, and Henry VII. thought it worth while to back them in following the example of Columbus, but trying for new ground farther north, where they would not come into collision with Henry's Spanish friends. So in 1497 the Bristol explorers discovered Newfoundland and Labrador; but as they found the country unattractive, with no prospects of trade or treasure or profitable settlement, the idea was allowed to drop. In spite of Pope Alexander's decree, this northern territory is marked in a Spanish map of the time as belonging to England.

THUS the sixteenth century started with the new world in the West allotted to Spain and the East allotted to Portugal by papal decree; 6. The In- and for half a century they had no competitors. During dian Ocean. that time Portugal established a maritime empire in the Indian Ocean, where her fleets ruled the seas and she had a very rich commerce all to herself—what is called a 'monopoly' of the Eastern trade. She did not try to set up a dominion on land—Portugal was too small a country with too small a population to set about conquering wide territories. What she wanted, and what she got was islands and fortified ports as naval stations and commercial centres where she could maintain fighting fleets and merchant fleets and keep out European competitors. The produce of the East no longer trickled into Europe through the Mohammedan barrier, to be carried to the West in the ships of Genoese and Venetians; it came round the Cape

in the fleets of the Portuguese; whose monopoly was broken, though not till the sixteenth century was ended, by English, Dutch, and, still later, French.

Spain had the West. She took possession of West Indian islands, but did not reach the mainland of South and Central America, the 'Spanish Main,' till 1502. In 1515 Balboa discovered that **Mexico.** Darien was an isthmus with an ocean stretching interminably away beyond it. Reports of the existence of a rich and flourishing empire of Mexico drew a Spanish expedition thither from the islands, under the command of Hernando Cortes in 1519; the result was the Spanish conquest of Mexico. In 1520 the Portuguese Magellan sailed right round the world; proving once for all that it is a globe, not a flat circle like the top of a table as most people had continued till then to believe. Then reports of another rich empire in South America, on the Pacific, drew another Spanish expedition there under Pizarro (1533); and the result of that was the Spanish conquest of Peru. From these new countries, which abounded in **Peru.** mines of gold and silver and precious stones, Spain began to draw vast stores of wealth; for the conquered realms were regarded as the private estates of the king of Spain, into whose coffers flowed the treasure borne in the 'plate-fleets.'

Lord Macaulay, eighty years ago, said that 'every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma and who strangled Atahualpa.' Montezuma was the Mexican emperor who was held prisoner by Cortes, and Atahualpa was the emperor of Peru, the 'Inca,' whom Pizarro slew. Europeans believed that they had a sort of right to conquer heathen peoples, and satisfied their consciences by arguing that it was all for the good of the heathens to be made Christians. We shall very soon find the same argument being used for kidnapping negroes in Africa and carrying them off to be slaves, when it was found that they could be set to much harder work than the 'Indians.'

The Spaniards had already conquered Peru when a Frenchman, Jacques Cartier, began the exploration and settlement on the river St. Lawrence, away in the north where no Spaniards went **Canada.** or wanted to go, which was the beginning of the French colony of Canada. The English dropped the idea that North America was worth exploring; but both English and French fishermen found that there were great catches to be made on the cod-banks of Newfoundland, which became a new training-field for English and French seamanship. No one questioned the right of the Spaniards and

Portuguese to America from Mexico south ; but northwards they had clearly no rights except what the Pope had given them ; and by the middle of the century the English and nearly half the French had broken with the Pope and no longer admitted that he had any authority at all. But besides this the English began to claim that though the Spaniards owned the south they had no right to keep out English traders as they were determined to do. Out of this, joined to English Protestantism and Spanish Papalism, arose the great struggle between England and Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The West invited conquest, in the tropical regions which alone, at first, seemed worth possessing ; because the natives were easy to conquer. Their light arms were of no account against the pikes and swords and the body armour of European soldiers ; horses were unknown to them, and a handful of cavalry could ride down swarms of them ; when firearms were brought into action they were helpless. North America, having no stores of mineral wealth, did not offer the same attraction, and was almost left alone for a hundred years. The East did not invite conquest because, rich though it might be, it was in the possession of fighting races accustomed to the movements of large armies with swarms of cavalry and—by the time that Europeans might have begun to think of conquest—with parks of artillery. The idea of a European dominion in Asia was hardly born till two hundred years had passed, and even commercial rivalries in the East did not come into play before the seventeenth century.

II. The New Dynasty : 1485-1520.

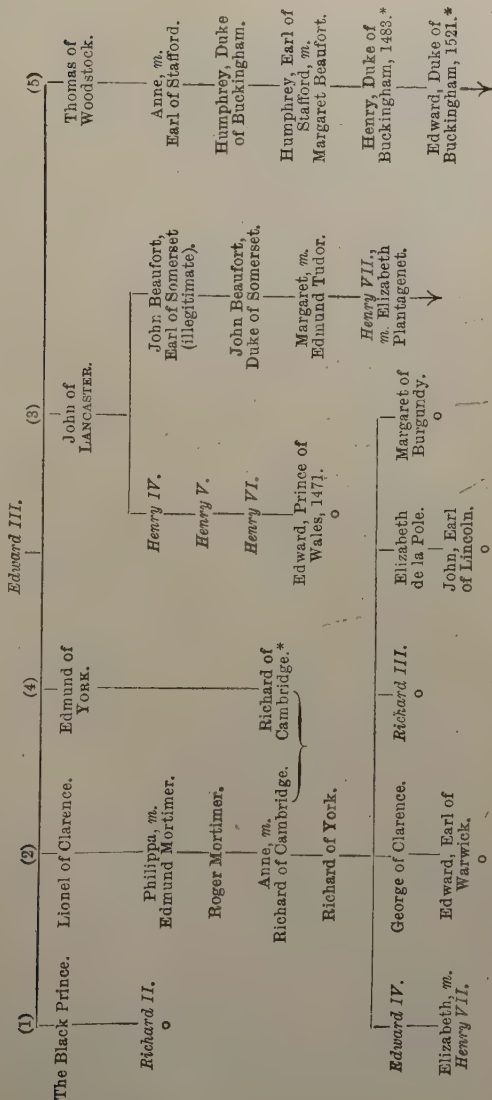
Henry VII.'s Crown—Yorkist Pretenders—Henry's Methods—

Financial Devices—The Spanish Alliance—Commercial Policy—

Two Marriages—Ireland—Henry VIII., 1509-13—Three Young Monarchs, 1513-20.

WHEN on Bosworth field Stanley set the golden coronet on Richmond's head and hailed him as King Harry the Seventh, the astute Tudor was not thinking about coming religious upheavals, continents on the other side of the globe, or revolutions in the European system. The immediate question which concerned him was simply how he might seat himself securely on the throne which he had won. His title to it was almost absurdly feeble so far as descent was concerned. If a claim in the female line was valid at all, then every

HOUSES OF YORK AND TUDOR



↓ Left children.

o Left no surviving offspring.

Dates signify the year of death.

Italics, Kings.

* Executed.

legitimate descendant of Lionel of Clarence had a better title than any descendant of Lionel's younger brother John of Gaunt: and Henry had no claim at all except through his Beaufort mother. He stood simply as the only possible candidate whom the House of Lancaster could put forward. The Yorkists on the other hand could produce at least three. First, Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward IV. If it were objected that a woman could not succeed—or that she, as Richard III. had claimed, was actually illegitimate—there were two men available, both undoubtedly legitimate. One, young Warwick, son of Edward's eldest brother George of Clarence, had the extra advantage of being the sole male descendant in unbroken male line from Edward III. (through his younger son Edmund of York). If he was barred on the flimsy ground of his father's attainder, there remained John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, the son of Edward IV.'s sister Elizabeth, whom Richard III. had named as the lawful heir.

Warwick was safe in custody—Richard for his own security had shut him up in the Tower. The Pole family had been founded only a hundred years ago by a successful merchant. Most Yorkists regarded the Princess Elizabeth as the lawful heir, and Henry's marriage to her would at any rate unite Yorkists and Lancastrians in support of any child born to them. Still Henry could not afford to have it said that he was king only in right of his wife. He must be recognised as king before he married her.

So he followed the 'precedent' or earlier example of Henry IV. He summoned a parliament and claimed the crown as lawful king. Parliament, following the precedent, did not trouble to prove the title by descent; it was content merely to affirm that he was the lawful king. Whatever might be said about descent, he was at any rate king by parliamentary title as well as—if he chose to say so—by right of conquest. Parliament added that he was already lawful king when the usurper Richard was on the throne, and that consequently Richard's supporters had been rebels in arms against their lawful sovereign. Henry did not want blood; he wanted money. So he fined or forfeited the estates of the 'rebels' instead of executing them; thereby proving himself no merciless tyrant like Richard, but a benevolent and forgiving prince, and at the same time lining his treasury comfortably, and disarming his enemies. Then after a sufficient interval, he married the Princess Elizabeth; the Red and White Roses were grafted on one stem.

STILL Henry's accession was a victory for the Lancastrian faction. Many Yorkists were not conciliated by the marriage, notably Margaret the dowager duchess of Burgundy, step-grandmother of 2. The little Archduke Philip, and virtually regent as widow Yorkists. of the last Duke Charles the Rash. As long as she lived, her court was the centre of Yorkists plots and intrigues for the overthrow of the Lancastrian Tudor. Ireland, always Yorkist in sympathy and generally well pleased to give trouble to the English Government, was a convenient place for hatching the plots. When Elizabeth bore a son to Henry, it seemed time to make a move.

Early in 1487 a Yorkist pretender appeared in Ireland—claiming to be young Warwick, the true heir. Margaret sent over German mercenary troops; the pretender crossed from Ireland Lambert with Irish troops; John of Lincoln joined him with English Simnel. troops—probably meaning to take the crown himself, since the real Warwick was in the Tower and likely enough to lose his head if the insurrection went forward. The insurgents however were crushed at the battle of Stoke; Lincoln was killed, though he left two brothers to maintain the family claims; Lambert Simnel, the baker's boy who had been put up to act the part of Warwick, was captured, and was with humorous contempt taken into the royal service as a kitchen-boy. Henry was satisfied with fines and reprimands, and put no rebels to death. Warwick had already been paraded through the streets of London to show that he was not the leader of the insurrection, and returned to his confinement.

The Poles were poor candidates to set up against the husband of Edward iv.'s daughter. For four years no pretenders came forward. Then in 1491 a claimant appeared—in Cork. For eight Perkin years it had been universally believed that the two sons Warbeck, of Edward iv. had been murdered by their uncle Richard. 1491. The pretender declared that he was in fact the younger of the two—the second Richard duke of York. He had been smuggled out of the Tower just in time to escape his brother's fate, and had been kept in hiding ever since; any one, it was said, could see that he was a Plantagenet. Still the story was not easy to believe; the young man did not venture to come to England, and in Ireland he was safe enough. People who were out of Henry's reach and wanted to believe did not find it so difficult. Perkin (Peter) Warbeck—the impostor's real name if his later confessions were true—had his story complete. He made his way to France (1492) where the young king Charles viii.—who

wanted to embarrass Henry—received him, but soon dismissed him, having made up his quarrel with the king of England. Then Perkin betook himself to Margaret of Burgundy, and either convinced her of the truth of his story or was accepted as a useful instrument for annoying Henry, and was trained to play the part of a Plantagenet prince.

Henry retorted by cutting off the supply of English wool for the Netherlands, which suffered so severely that the court of Burgundy had

His mis-
adventures,
1495-7.

to withdraw its countenance from Perkin in 1495. An attempt to land in England was unsuccessful; he tried Ireland where he fared hardly better at the hands of the

able deputy-governor, Sir Edward Poynings (the acting governor from this time was usually a deputy for a nominal governor who never went near the country). Then he went to Scotland where the young king James IV., having grievances against Henry, chose to believe in him and pose as his champion against the usurping Tudor. But after a raid into the north of England (1496), James tired of him. Perkin made his way to Ireland again, and thence to Cornwall (1497) where the Cornishmen were in a state of unrest, and succeeded in raising an insurrection—or at least in collecting a few followers. But when he marched with them to Exeter and Taunton he found no support. Despairing of success, and trusting to the king's leniency, Warbeck deserted his followers and surrendered himself to Henry's mercy. The king took his usual course. The pretender was exposed to public contempt by being set in the stocks and required to make an open confession of his imposture which may either have been genuine or have been dictated to him. Then he was confined, tried to escape, and was again set in the stocks and more closely imprisoned in the Tower, along with Warwick (1498).

Another pretender Warwick made his appearance and was suppressed; but Henry was at last frightened or tired of the constant plots.

Perkin and
Warwick,
1499.

The two prisoners in the Tower were charged with a fresh conspiracy, and were executed (1499). No possible

pretenders were left except the Poles. The luckless Warwick had spent some sixteen years in captivity simply because he was unfortunate enough to have a better title to the throne than any one except his cousin Elizabeth, and Henry could never feel his crown secure whilst the young man was alive. He was killed, not because he was a traitor but because other people chose to plot treason in his name. As for Perkin, it is just possible, but extremely unlikely, that his story was true. He had just enough obstinacy to cling to his pretensions,

and wits enough to pass them off ; but his courage invariably failed in a crisis. As an impostor, he met the fate he deserved, and if he was not an impostor his feebleness merited failure.

Thus in 1499, fourteen years after Bosworth, no possible pretenders to the throne were left except the exiled Poles. Warwick's sister, the countess of Salisbury, had been married off to a knight who also bore the name of Pole though wholly unconnected with the other family. These Poles (originally Powells) became prominent in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary, when the other De la Poles of Suffolk and Lincoln had been completely blotted out.

THERE were no more insurrections or serious threats of insurrection after 1499. The real danger from pretenders had throughout lain chiefly in the fact that foreign courts could turn them to account by giving them shelter and keeping Henry and England uneasy with the fear of insurrections ; so long as the country was satisfied with its ruler it would be in no haste to plunge into fresh civil wars. Still it was not easy to keep the country satisfied when there was no lively sense of loyalty to the dynasty. Throughout these years it was Henry's business to establish himself so firmly that no rising would have a chance of making headway. In the course of five-and-twenty years, Henry VI. had been deposed and Edward IV. set up by force of arms ; Edward had been deposed and Henry restored, Henry again deposed and Edward restored by force of arms ; Richard had taken the crown from Edward's son by force, and then Henry VII. had killed Richard and taken the crown himself by force. The conditions which made such things possible were not to be endured.

3. An unstable throne.

During the next fourteen years, Henry was carefully obliterating these conditions. His marriage to Elizabeth and the birth of a series of children deprived the Yorkists of any decent excuse for challenging the rights of the new dynasty unless they believed in the self-styled Richard of York whom unbelievers called Perkin Warbeck. No one could say of Henry, as they had said of the last king, that he was an intolerable tyrant, when he only took the lands or money instead of the lives of any but the most flagrant rebels or conspirators, and even occasionally bestowed his favour and his confidence on men who had notoriously taken part against him. Thus the main motives to rebellion were removed. He secured the goodwill if not the warm loyalty of the Commons partly by avoiding heavy

Conciliation.

taxation, partly by making a point of consulting parliament on every possible occasion. He made it his business to foster commerce; the wealth of the towns grew, and the citizens approved a government under which they found themselves becoming richer every year. The ablest of the clergy were his ministers, and he had the Church at his back.

But rebellion was never likely to originate either with the Commons or with the churchmen. From time immemorial, it had been the great

The nobles. nobles or leagues of the nobles who had risen against the Crown. After the wars there were no great magnates left who could play the old parts of the earls and dukes of Gloucester or Lancaster, of York or Somerset, of Northumberland or Warwick, but there might still be dangerous combinations of the smaller men who had learnt to maintain regiments of retainers in defiance of the laws against 'maintenance' and 'livery.' It became Henry's first aim to deprive them of the power of defying the law—and in doing so he had behind him the whole force of the Commons.

The first of his methods we have already noted. He never missed an opportunity of diminishing, by strictly legal means, the wealth of **Fines and forfeitures.** the more powerful families—even when they were his own partisans. Henry IV. had found his most dangerous enemies among the men who had done most to place him on the throne; so had Richard III. Henry VII. took no risks, but it was generally the Yorkists who gave him the chances—which he took. Fines and confiscations were the penalties of every breach of the law, generally even of open treason. On the other hand, when his great Lancastrian supporter, the earl of Oxford, welcomed him in state with a great display of liveried retainers, the earl, instead of being commended for his lavish hospitality, found himself compelled to disband his retainers and pay the tremendous fine which was the legal penalty of his illegal magnificence.

Richard III. had made laws against maintenance and livery, but the courts, overawed by the transgressors' retainers, had failed to exact **The Star Chamber.** the penalties. Henry succeeded. The King's Council in the past had sometimes acted as a law-court. Henry procured an Act of Parliament which definitely set up a committee of the Council as a legal tribunal with power to impose penalties (but not that of death) at its discretion. It became known as the court of Star Chamber. Offenders against the maintenance and livery laws were summoned before it; they could not overawe such a body as this with their retainers, and they soon found that attempts to defy it were too expensive. They paid their fines and dismissed their retainers.

Without their retainers they were not only disarmed for resistance to the Crown—they could no longer overawe the ordinary courts and juries to the overriding of justice in their own favour as they had done in the past : and the Commons rejoiced.

THUS Henry drew the claws of that class among his subjects whose power of disregarding the law and of employing or threatening to employ force on their own account had been the most embarrassing check on the power of the Crown. The second check had been the power of parliament to refuse supplies to kings who, for lack of money, had to make concessions in exchange. Parliament, and the Great Council before parliament was known by that name, had definitely possessed that power by law since Magna Carta, and possessed it still. The king could no more levy taxes by his own decree than he could make laws without consent of parliament. There were only two ways of evading that power. One was to override the law and take people's money by force, which no English king would dare to attempt. The other was to devise means of getting enough into the treasury by legal methods to enable the king to carry on the government without asking for more. For this Edward IV. had shown the way. The use of forfeitures, confiscations, and fines as the penalties for treason and law-breaking had been extensively practised by that monarch, and while he had thereby sapped the power and wealth of the baronage, he had so filled his own coffers as to be nearly independent of grants from parliament. Henry improved upon Edward's example.

4. Filling
the
treasury.

Edward had devised the ingenious trick of extorting Benevolences. An Act of Parliament under Richard had pronounced Benevolences illegal, but Richard himself had reverted to them and Henry continued the practice in spite of its illegality— for the Act had been passed by a usurper when the lawful king (according to Henry's theory) was in exile. And his doing so did not trouble the Commons ; for the money was not taken from their pockets but from those of the barons, which the Commons were not interested in protecting.

Benevo-
lences.

Finally Edward had declared war on France, collected a handsome grant from parliament of which he spent little and pocketed the rest, and had then made a comfortable bargain with the French king which brought a further substantial addition to his income. Again Henry followed the astute lead, getting handsome

Indemnities.

supplies for a French war, avoiding expenditure, but finally collecting an 'indemnity' from the young French king; whose convenience it suited to buy him off, in order to get a free hand for pursuing his ambitions in Italy. The result of which was that for the last ten years of Henry's reign he hardly needed to summon parliament at all, and left his son with a treasury better filled than any previous king had found on his accession.

Avarice might be called Henry's principal vice, for he never spent a penny that could be saved, and had no scruples about the means he used for gathering wealth. In the later part of his reign his agents, Empson and Dudley, were mere extortioners to whose iniquities he shut his eyes because he derived profit from them himself. But in his earlier years he was greedy for money because he needed to free himself from the control of parliament. If he had died in 1499 before Warwick was done to death, he would have escaped most of the reputation for sordid meanness which clings to him. Henry ran his kingship as a matter of business unfettered by sentiment, and business sometimes meant sharp practice but rarely anything that could fairly be called injustice during the first fourteen years of his reign; and he ran it with success. His son began his reign in a stronger position than any king since the reign of Edward I.

HENRY's foreign policy was controlled mainly by the need of establishing himself and his dynasty securely on the throne of England, and preventing foreign Powers from giving shelter, countenance, or more active help to Yorkist plots and Yorkist pretenders. There were four foreign Powers with which he was concerned—Scotland, France, Burgundy (involving Maximilian), and the newly united Spain. The hostility of the first two was traditional; the third was hostile not to England but to Henry personally, because of the connection of its rulers with the House of York. On the other hand, Spain had no interests which clashed with those either of England or of Henry himself; she had interests which clashed with those of France both in Italy and on the Franco-Spanish border, in Navarre at one end of the Pyrenees and Rousillon at the other. Consequently Henry and Ferdinand of Spain each knew that he had need of the other to exert pressure on France.

Henry VII. and Ferdinand were men of the same type. They understood each other thoroughly. Each knew that the other was bound to help him: but when anything was to be done each meant to thrust as

much as he could of the work, the expense, and the risk upon the other, and himself to get the lion's share of any advantages which might result. Each knew that the other would overreach him if he could, and thought none the worse of him in consequence. Rivals in craft.

Each respected the man who could succeed in cheating him, and reserved his contempt for the man who allowed himself to be cheated. Ferdinand heard that a French ambassador complained that he had once cheated the king of France. 'He lies,' quoth Ferdinand. 'Once? I have cheated him thrice!' Henry did not go quite so far; neither perhaps could claim that he had ever quite succeeded in cheating the other; but each did his best and respected the other all the more. So long as Henry's throne was thoroughly insecure, Ferdinand got the best of the bargaining; but after the first years the honours went rather to Henry.

It was in pursuance of the joint policy of embarrassing France—England was always ready to back any king in war with France—that Henry in his early years did declare war; nominally A French war. in defence of Brittany, the one French duchy which had kept its old independence of control by the French crown. For this war, Henry got supplies from parliament, but spent hardly any of the money. Charles VIII. retorted by receiving Perkin Warbeck at his court. Henry replied by a great display of preparation for a vigorous campaign. It was merely a pretence—but it succeeded. Charles wanted to lead an expedition into Italy, not to fight England in Brittany, and the war was ended by the peace of Etaples (1492). Charles paid a big indemnity and dismissed Perkin who went off to Margaret of Burgundy; Henry withdrew the troops which he had placed in some Breton towns, and stored up in his treasury the money he got from Charles and the money he had already got from parliament. Ferdinand grumbled at his ally's withdrawal, but he could do no more, because—in spite of promises—he had taken no active part in the war himself, on the plea that he could spare no troops from the war with the Moorish kingdom of Granada—which was conquered and annexed to the Spanish kingdom in the same year.

THEN Henry turned his attention to Burgundy which was sheltering Perkin. There were two things he wanted from Burgundy; the dismissal of the Yorkist pretender, and improvements 6. Burgundy.—from the English point of view—in the conditions under which the English were trading in the Netherlands. There was no

chance of a friendly agreement, so Henry opened a 'commercial war,' as Edward III. had done once a century and a half earlier. He stopped the supply of English wool; which was bad for the English wool-merchants, but much worse for the Netherland clothiers, who were rapidly brought to the verge of ruin. The Burgundian Government had to submit to Henry's own terms. Perkin was dismissed and presently found his way to Scotland (1495); and the treaty called the *Commercial Intercursus Magnus* or Great Intercourse removed all the treaties. restrictions upon English traders in Flanders in return for the free export thither of English wool as before; to the great profit of the English trade. Eleven years later, in 1506, Henry was able to force a fresh treaty upon the Archduke Philip which was so disadvantageous to the Flemings that it was called *Intercursus Malus* or Bad Intercourse. This time however Henry overreached himself; it was so bad for the Flemings that it spoilt the English market, and the English traders suffered instead of gaining, so that it was dropped.

The increase of commerce was always one of the aims of Henry's policy. It suited him that there should be a wealthy class of traders just as it suited him to reduce the wealth of the nobles. The traders were bound to be on the side of peace abroad, and of a government strong enough to curb the turbulence of the baronage, and, generally, to maintain the law against any one who would override the law if he could do so with profit to himself. The commercial war before the *Intercursus Magnus* was an instance. While it lasted, it was very bad for trade; but Henry got by it a treaty which was very good for trade. He made it his business, more than any king before him, to procure commercial treaties by which English trade benefited; rights were granted to English traders abroad which put them on a footing as good as or better than their rivals; and the privileges which had been granted to the Hansa or other foreign merchants in England were curtailed. Such treaties were not easy to obtain. Every one everywhere believed firmly in making the foreigner buy as much and sell as little as possible (except of the goods which were badly wanted but could not be produced at home). Foreign countries and commercial free cities would only admit the Englishman in return for the grant of privileges to their own traders in England. But in Henry's reign a turning-point had been reached. The English could say, 'Give us privileges, or you will lose your trade with us,' instead of saying, 'If you will trade with us we will give you privileges';

and the foreigner began to find that if he refused, he would indeed hurt the English but would hurt himself still more. Henry made mistakes—the Intercursus Malus was one—but altogether he did greatly advance English commerce by making commercial treaties with other Governments instead of simply leaving the traders to fight their own battles; though later on Government interference hampered trade instead of benefiting it.

THERE were no more wars on foreign soil in Henry's reign after 1492. By 1495, as we saw, he had made Burgundy understand that quarrelling with England was bad business. Henry and Ferdinand continued their game of supporting each other and at the same time trying to beat each other, and on the whole Henry got more out of Ferdinand than Ferdinand got out of Henry. One of their bargains had later on an effect upon English history which no one could have dreamed of when it was made. It has already been mentioned that the eldest Spanish princess, Joanna of Castile, was married to the Archduke Philip of Burgundy, so that their son Charles (born in 1500) became the heir of Burgundy, Spain, and all the Hapsburg inheritance. That marriage determined Henry that the next princess, Katharine of Aragon, should be married to his own eldest son Arthur. A few months after the marriage (1501), Arthur died, and his brother Henry became the heir to the throne.

Thereupon King Henry and Ferdinand agreed that Prince Henry should marry his brother's youthful widow, and so keep up the connection between the royal families of Spain and England. But the laws of the Church forbade marriage with a brother's widow or a deceased wife's sister—as they forbade marriage between cousins. Such Church laws could be set aside by a 'dispensation' from the Pope; and so the kings persuaded the Pope Julius II. to give a dispensation allowing the betrothal and afterwards the marriage of young Henry and Katharine. Only there were many people who held that such a marriage was forbidden not only by a rule laid down by the Church—from which the Pope could grant a dispensation—but by the higher Moral Law which the Pope himself could not set aside; such as that which forbids the marriage of an actual brother and sister. However the dispensation was given; some years later Henry VIII. and Katharine were married; and out of that marriage, as we shall see, came the breach with Rome, and the English Reformation.

7. The
Spanish
marriage,
1501.

The Dis-
pensation.

Henry, as part of his bargaining with Ferdinand, played a little at quarrelling with France, but it was only pretence which was never intended to be anything but a pretext for getting more money from parliament and benevolences. Scotland however threatened to give trouble. Early in Henry's reign the feeble Scots king James III. was killed in another war with the barons (1488) and was succeeded by his talented but impulsive and headstrong son James IV., who was then sixteen. Young James was vigorous, popular, and on good terms with the nobles; the government and the country prospered, but were not over friendly to England. English and Scottish sailors were apt to accuse each other of piracy; English and Scottish borderers accused each other of raiding in defiance of 'Border Law'; and though the countries were professedly at peace, there was really a constant state of war both on the border and on the high seas. At one time (1496) King James elected to take up the cause of Warbeck and to raid the north on his behalf. Henry taxed the southern counties in order to repel the invasion, put the money in his own pocket, and disgusted the Cornishmen who did not see why they should be taxed for the defence of Northumberland; which was one of their reasons for joining Warbeck's last insurrection. Henry however did not mean to fight the Scots. He knew that Scotland could not be conquered; he wanted to live at peace with her; he believed that a union of the two countries by a union of the crowns would be the best thing for both; and he offered King James his own eldest but still very youthful daughter Margaret as wife. That marriage took place in 1503—and exactly a hundred years later Margaret's great-grandson, James VI. of Scotland, succeeded to the English throne as James I.

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The Scottish marriage, 1503.

IRELAND in Henry's day was beginning to be realised as a problem which concerned English statesmanship. For three centuries it had been a sort of appendage to the English king's dominions, a province which contained a number of very unruly subjects who paid very little attention to the king's law. They however might after all be left very much to themselves under an English governor who exercised very little control beyond the 'Pale,' which was only a small section of the province of Leinster, around Dublin. Outside the Pale the magnates went very much their own way. Three, of Norman descent but now very thoroughly Irish, were lords of the south—Fitzgerald earl of Kildare, Butler earl of Ormond, and Fitz-

8. Ireland.

gerald earl of Desmond. In Ulster the O'Neills of Tyrone and the O'Donnells of Tyrconnel held sway, and there was a colony of Scots in Antrim. On the west of the Pale the most powerful of the clan-chiefs were O'Briens and O'Connors, with the once Norman De Burghs who had become Burkes.

Hitherto, what happened in Ireland had been of no great importance to England, and all attempts to Anglicise the country had been failures. But during the struggle of the Roses Ireland had sided A Yorkist preserve. with the Yorkists, that family having a wide Irish connection, and having supplied several popular governors. Finally Edward iv. had made Deputy the most powerful of the Irish barons, Kildare. So when the Tudor became king of England, Ireland was ready to take up the cause of any Yorkist pretender. It was in Ireland that Lambert Simnel made his public appearance, and the troops which were defeated at the battle of Stoke were mainly either Irish or the German mercenaries sent over by Margaret of Burgundy.

Kildare had encouraged the rebellion; but Henry followed the policy of conciliation and continued him in the deputyship. In 1491 Perkin Warbeck appeared. The disloyalty of both Kildare and Desmond was so obvious that Kildare was removed from the deputyship which was entrusted to Sir Edward Poynings, while Kildare was brought over to England. Under Poynings the cause of the pretender Poynings' Law, 1494. did not prosper in Ireland, and his deputyship is further notable for the passing of Poynings' Law. Ireland had its parliament after the English model, though its powers were small. Poynings' Law (1494) enacted that the parliament could only discuss and pass or reject without alteration such laws as had already received the approval or sanction of the king's Privy Council in England: and this continued to be the law for nearly three hundred years.

Poynings was still deputy when Warbeck tried Ireland for the second time in 1495, so that Warbeck got no encouragement. Meanwhile Henry and Kildare had learnt to understand each other. Kildare. Henry was one of the rare Englishmen who have grasped the fact that the rules which guide Englishmen are not the rules which guide Irishmen. English control only made Kildare uncontrollable: make him responsible, and there would be another story. 'All Ireland cannot control this man,' said the bishop of Meath. 'Then,' said Henry, 'this man must control all Ireland.' In 1496 Kildare was restored to the deputyship, and ruled all Ireland for the rest of the reign entirely to Henry's satisfaction.

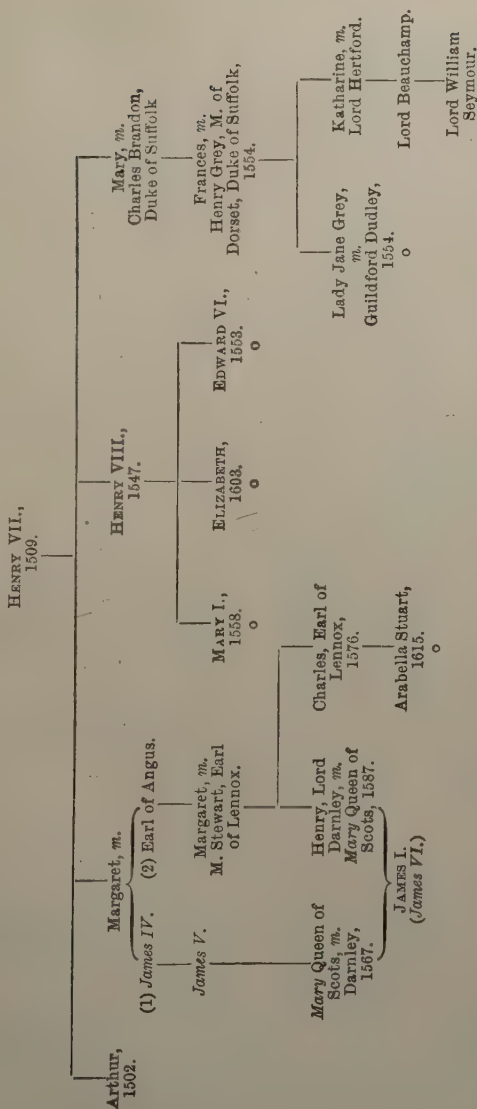
SEEING that Henry VII. was a man with no particular vices except avarice, it is curious that he remains one of the most unattractive of 9. The Old English kings. He was not vindictive or cruel; he was King. not a tyrant; he was not a law-breaker; his rule benefited the country greatly, restored its prosperity, and increased its importance in the eyes of all Europe. Yet the man remains sordid, mean, and unlovely; and most of all so in the years when he had no need for meannesses and cunning shifts to preserve the power which he could hardly have won without them. From 1500 to 1509 there is nothing good to record of him; and the evil practices of his agents, Empson and Dudley, lawyers who sold justice for their own profit and the king's, aroused general disgust. His death in 1509 was unmourned, and the accession of his son Henry VIII., a gallant youth (as all men thought) of eighteen, was hailed with rejoicing.

For all that was known of the young king was in his favour. He was handsome, clever, skilled in all manly sports, practised in all The Young accomplishments, a scholar and a musician, frank, genial, King, 1509. free-handed; ambitious too—one, as it seemed, who might well revive the martial glories of Edward III. or Henry V. The scholars were as jubilant as the fighting men. Henry's popularity was assured when the detested Empson and Dudley were charged with treason and sent to the block, and when he wedded his queen Katharine with lavish pageantry, most unlike his niggardly parent.

It was not only the English who rejoiced. Ferdinand and Maximilian (who had now been emperor for some years) saw in the inexperienced young ruler an easy tool to be used for their own A league and a French ends—the destruction of France. They were the two war, 1512. grandfathers of the boy Charles (the Archduke Philip was dead) who had already succeeded to Burgundy and would one day inherit both Spain and the Hapsburg dominions. In France Louis XII. was reigning—a cousin of Charles VIII., who had left no children; and Louis had a claim of his own on the Italian duchy of Milan. Henry in fact was easily persuaded—by the promise that Guienne should be his share of the spoils—to join in a league against France. Ferdinand meant Henry to do the fighting, and Maximilian meant to pay his own expenses out of Henry's pocket.

The war began badly in 1512, with an expedition to Guienne which came to nothing. Next year matters went better, for Henry had found a minister who knew that war needs organisation as well as fighting—Thomas Wolsey. Henry himself went to Picardy; there was a cavalry

THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII.



o Left no surviving offspring.

Dates signify the year of death.

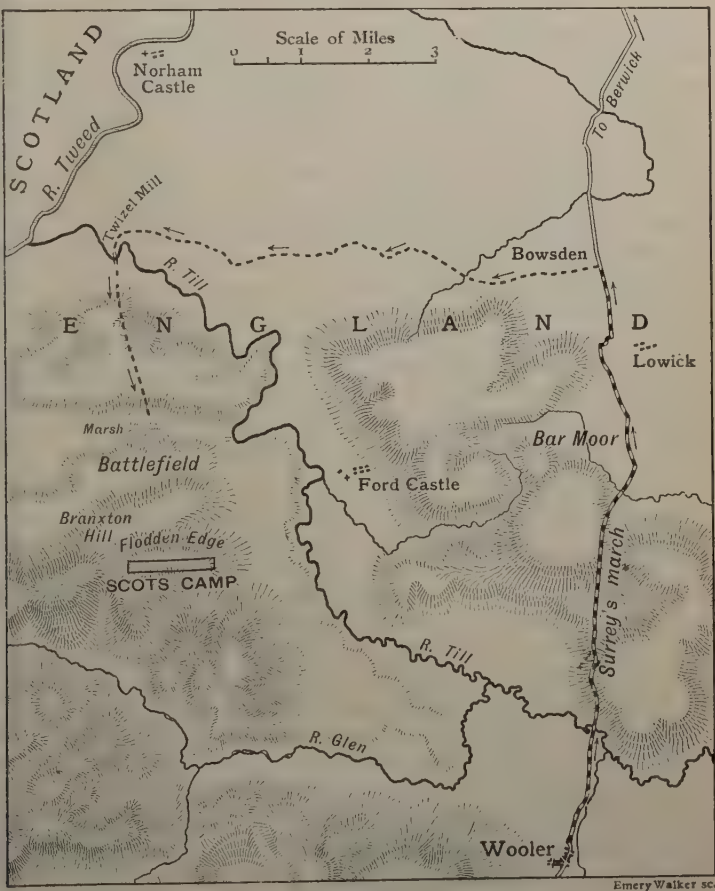
Italics, Scots Monarchs; CAPITALS, English Monarchs.

skirmish called the battle of the Spurs, because the French were seized with a panic and galloped off the field. Henry captured the town of T  rouanne. But the most important event of the year (1513) was a battle on English soil.

The marriage of Henry's sister Margaret to King James of Scotland had been accompanied or followed by an alliance, but by no great **Flodden,** friendliness between the English and Scottish courts. **1513.** France and Scotland were old allies. James had grievances against his wife's father and brother; claims which the younger Henry still refused to recognise, when James again asserted them. While Henry was in France, James invaded the north of England with a great army. Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey (son of Richard III.'s John Howard, duke of Norfolk) had been left in command in England, the invasion not being unexpected. The Scots army took up a strong position on Flodden Edge. Surrey's forces, screened by high moors, passed them by a night march, and appeared on the north of them, cutting them off from Scotland. If James had stood where he was, the English could not have attacked with any hope of success, and would have been forced to retire. But the Scots king, more of a knight-errant than a general, came down to the plain to let his enemy fight him on equal terms. Once more the English archery gave victory to the English. The Scots fought as desperately as Harold's huscarles at Hastings, or Wallace's peasants at Falkirk, but when night fell the field was piled with the bodies of the slain, the king himself among them, and with him half the bravest and best of the land. There could be no more danger from Scotland for many a year—and meanwhile its new king James V. was a babe-in-arms. Once more the country was a prey to contests between the young queen-mother and rival factions of the nobility.

FROM this time forward every one believed that Wolsey was the ruler of England; perhaps he believed it himself for a little while, but not **10. Thomas** for long. He very soon learnt that if his own will crossed **Wolsey.** that of the king he must give way unless he could bring Henry round to his own view. But Henry was very well content to leave all the troublesome business of government to a minister of supreme ability. If what Wolsey did was popular the king took the credit; if it was unpopular, the minister not the king was the object of public resentment—and in any case Henry's interests were sure to gain and his rivals were sure to be outmanoeuvred by the astute cardinal

(who was very soon raised to that dignity by Pope Leo x.). So Woisey managed the administration and directed policy—subject to the king's pleasure.



FLODDEN

Showing the Scottish position on Flodden Edge, and Surrey's march.

Ferdinand and Maximilian discovered to their disgust that instead of a guileless youth who could be used as a tool they were matched

with a statesman who was no whit less their equal than the old king had been. They tried to slip out of their engagements with England and The old to leave her in the lurch—only to discover that Wolsey kings pass. was beforehand with them and had come to a separate understanding with the old French king. But the days of all the old kings were passing. Louis XII. died and was succeeded by his young cousin Francis I.; a couple of years later Ferdinand died and Charles of Burgundy became king of Spain and the Sicilies which Ferdinand had wrested from France. Then Maximilian died in 1519; Charles succeeded to the Hapsburg or Austrian inheritance, and was duly elected emperor though the French king was a rival candidate, and Henry himself had seriously proposed to stand. Thus in 1520 the destinies of Europe seemed to be in the hands of three monarchs of whom Henry, the eldest, was eight-and-twenty, and Charles V., the youngest, was barely twenty. It was Wolsey's business to hold the Balancing. balance between Francis and Charles and to extract from each, as the price of English alliance or neutrality, such advantages as he could for Henry, for England, and incidentally for himself. In the popular belief, his own election to the Papacy when it should fall vacant was the goal of his ambition—in the whole history of the Church there had been only one English Pope—and to that end the friendship of Charles was much to be desired since the emperor's predominance in Italy gave him a preponderant influence over the papal elections.

Between the two young rulers on the Continent the rivalry was acute. In Italy Charles wanted Milan, of which Francis was in possession; and he wanted also the Burgundian provinces which forty years ago had been absorbed by the French monarchy. If Wolsey could take his own way he might compel the two princes to keep the peace lest England should intervene. But the moment had come when a new cause of divisions was to burst upon Europe, rending it into hostile camps and setting up another opposition than that between the emperor and the king of France; an opposition of religions within the empire, within France, and even for a time within England. In 1520 Luther flung defiance to the papal authority and opened the flood-gates of the Reformation.

CHRONOLOGY

1485-1520.

ENGLAND.

1485. Accession of HENRY VII.
 1486. Henry *m.* Elizabeth of York.
 1487. Lambert Simnel.
 Star Chamber instituted.
 1489. Alliance with Spain.
 1492-99. Perkin Warbeck.

 1494. Poynings' Law.
 1496. Intercursus Magnus.
 1497. Warbeck captured.
 English discovery of Labrador.
 1499. Execution of Warbeck and Warwick.
 1501. Prince Arthur *m.* Katharine of Aragon.
 1502. Death of Arthur.
 1503. Princess Margaret *m.* James IV.
 1509-47. HENRY VIII.
 1509. Henry *m.* Katharine of Aragon.
 1512-29. Wolsey.
 1513. Flodden.

 1516. More's 'Utopia.'
 1517. Wolsey made Papal Legate.

 1520. Field of the Cloth of Gold,

SCOTLAND AND EUROPE.

1488. James IV., king of Scots.

 1490. Savonarola in Florence.
 1492. Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella.
 Spain united.
 Voyage of Columbus.
 1492-1503. Alexander VI., Pope.

 1498. Louis XII., king of France.
 Vasco da Gama reaches India.

 1503. Julius II., Pope.

 1513. Leo X., Pope.
 James V., king of Scots.
 Regency.
 1515. Francis I., king of France.
 1516. Charles, king of Spain.
 1517. Indulgences.
 1519. Charles V., emperor.
 Conquest of Mexico.
 1520. Luther burns the Papal Bull.
 Zwingli at Zurich.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION : 1520-1558.

I. The Reformation in Europe : 1490-1563.

The Church—Movements for Reform—Martin Luther—Authority or Private Judgment—The Protestant Development—The Council of Trent—Calvinism.

To trace the coming of the Reformation, we must begin by glancing as far back as the latter years of the fourteenth century. Even at that time the clergy all over Europe were losing their spiritual influence; partly because many of those who were at their head were troubling themselves about politics more than religion; partly because of the scandal caused by the Great Schism when for forty years there were two or sometimes three popes, none of them generally men of high character, each of them claiming to be the 'Vicar of Christ' on earth and denouncing his rivals in very violent terms; partly because Wiclif in England and then Huss and his followers in Bohemia began to call in question doctrines on the truth of which the authority claimed by the clergy very largely depended. And besides this the laity were extremely jealous of the great wealth possessed by the bishops, and still more by the monasteries, and were very ready to make the most of faults in the clergy of which they made little account when laymen were guilty of them.

Now, the active preaching and teaching in opposition to the doctrines generally held was put down in England by the laws which sent 'heretics' to the stake, and in Europe by the Hussite wars in the first half of the fifteenth century. The scandal of the Great Schism was ended by the Council of Constance (1414), after which for over half a century there came a succession of popes of high character and ability. But still men went on secretly questioning Church doctrines which they dared not discuss openly; while the other troubles continued and increased. The popes themselves, though they were anxious to set the Church in order, were

hardly less anxious to extend their power as 'temporal' princes, since they had great domains in central and northern Italy; bishops and abbots everywhere went on concerning themselves more with affairs of state than with the spiritual welfare of their flocks; their wealth still increased; the character and learning of the clergy, especially the monks, sank lower and lower; and many of them tried to keep their influence by sheer trickeries and falsehoods about pretended miracles.

Then, just when men had once more learnt some respect for the papacy, there came a fatal fall in the character of the popes. Sixtus IV. (1471-84) and Alexander VI. (1492-1503) were men whose names became a byword for wickedness; when Alexander died the world had no doubt that he had been killed by accidentally drinking the poison which he had prepared for a guest. Every sort of crime was laid to the charge of both, and the kinsmen of both; and when this was the case with popes, it was not easy for men to believe in the sanctity of their office. It did not mean that the clergy were particularly wicked; but when such men as these were at the head of the Church, corruption could not but spread in its lower ranks. All men of piety—and there was no lack of them—were keenly alive to the need for a great reform in morals and religion, especially among the clergy whose lives were to be spent in teaching religion and morals.

The Papal
relapse,
1471-1503.

Still, this did not mean that the best and wisest men were as yet challenging the Church's doctrines. But this decline of the Papacy came just at the moment when the study of the ancient Greek language was advancing very rapidly. Hitherto, what men knew of the Scriptures was drawn almost entirely from the Latin version of them called the Vulgate which had been made centuries ago, and all sorts of special meanings had long since become attached to particular phrases in it. But now men were studying the old Greek versions in which the New Testament had first been written, and the Greek versions of the Old Testament from which the Vulgate had been translated, and they began to find that some of the Greek sentences could not possibly mean what the Latin versions of them were supposed to mean, so that things were being taught as if they came from the Bible which were not in the original Scriptures at all. There was nothing 'heretical' about thinking so or saying so. It merely meant that the chance had come for correcting some age-old misunderstandings. But some of the misunderstandings had been useful to the churchmen as establishing their own authority, and they were not likely to admit

The Greek
Testament.

that these had been errors, though some would hold to truth at any cost.

THE cry for moral reform was passionately raised in Italy, the land where in all Europe men's brains were most active and the pursuit of art and literature and learning was keenest, in Florence the most cultured of its cities, by the great preacher Savonarola—just before Alexander VI. became Pope and by his own wickedness encouraged the wickedness of others in high places. Though for a time people's feelings were deeply stirred, Savonarola's teachings were alarming to the rulers of Italy, and he was put down. Alexander's successors were men of another kind; but to neither was religion a thing that mattered. Julius II. was a fighting Pope, Leo X. a splendid prince, a patron of the arts and of learning, an active politician, but by no means a religious reformer—and he was still Pope in 1520 when Cardinal Wolsey was hoping to succeed him on the papal throne.

A real reforming movement of another kind came from a band of scholars of whom the most brilliant was Erasmus of Rotterdam; men who wished not to weaken the Church but to strengthen her by purging her of the vulgar superstitions and falsities which had overgrown her teaching and passed for faith; men who loved righteousness and hated iniquity, but believed that the cure for corruption lay in a better education of both clergy and laity which would teach them truth and the love of truth: foremost among whom were two great Englishmen—both friends of Erasmus—John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's and founder of a famous school, and Thomas More who is in some ways the most attractive figure of those times; with Fisher, afterwards bishop of Rochester. Of these two we shall hear again. And there were other English prelates who would have been little less zealous in the cause of reform through education if they had not been drawn into political work, such as the archbishops Morton and Warham, and Fox of Winchester, and above all others Wolsey himself. For education was a passion with the great Cardinal, who built a school in his native town of Ipswich, and founded Christ Church, one of the most famous of Oxford colleges. Yet when Luther in Germany, and after him for very different reasons Henry VIII. in England, bade defiance to the Pope, every one among those who were still surviving stood fast by the old faith. Two of them, More and Fisher, died for their loyalty to it. They had been reformers; but

what Luther set on foot was a revolution, and they shrank from revolution.

Learning and culture and what a great modern writer has called 'sweet reasonableness' would have been the keynotes of the Reformation if such men as these could have had their way. But there were others who found that they were in need of something much more drastic than these men had to offer. The challenge to authority.

Erasmus and More sought peace; these others brought not peace but a sword; war against the whole Church system which had prevailed for a thousand years; war against doctrines which had been accepted almost without question throughout the Middle Ages. And behind them in that war they had the old antagonism of princes and secular governments to the rival authority of popes and churchmen, and the popular jealousy of the Church's wealth—although on the other hand there were princes and governments who felt that if the authority of the Church were challenged successfully, their own right to authority might be challenged in its turn.

The two centres of this movement were Zurich in Switzerland and Wittenberg in Germany. At Zurich, Zwingli's studies taught him that the inspired Scriptures were the one authority from which religious truths might be learnt and that the accepted Zwingli. doctrines concerning the Sacraments, especially that of Transubstantiation in the service called the Mass, were not supported by the words of the Bible. That view had been put forward long before by Wiclif, and for it he had been condemned as a heretic after his death. Transubstantiation means that when at the Holy Communion the priest (and none but a priest) pronounces certain words over the Bread and Wine, their 'substance' is changed; what is there is no longer bread and wine though its appearance and taste is unaltered; it has become the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, through the eating and drinking of which divine grace is conveyed to the faithful. Zwingli declared that no such change takes place, and the service was instituted only to commemorate Christ's last supper with His disciples; he denied that the priesthood possessed this wonderful power which they claimed.

Zwingli's ideas might have been treated as of no great importance unless they should spread; if they became troublesome, they could be suppressed with little difficulty, as they had been a Luther. century before. But Luther's activity at Wittenberg was another matter; for in 1517 it stopped the sale of Indulgences in Saxony.

WHAT were 'Indulgences'? It was the teaching of the Church that the repentant sinner may obtain pardon only when he has confessed his sins and received 'absolution' from a priest, and **3. Indul- ences, 1517.** has done whatever 'penance' the priest thinks fit to demand—partly as punishment, partly as a sign of repentance. But the vulgar belief which many priests encouraged was that the pardon wiped off the old scores against the sinner and left him free to pile up a fresh burden—the penance, not the penitence, was what mattered. It was easy to go on to the next step. Instead of requiring confession and penance, the pardon became purchasable. The Indulgence was a sort of certificate of pardon issued by the head of the whole priesthood, the Pope himself, to be bought from his agents. From time to time popes who were in want of money had issued batches of Indulgences for sale. Leo x. was very much in want of money for the building and decoration of the new great Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome; and he issued an enormous number of Indulgences, to be sold by his agents at a very low price all over Europe. One of the agents was to sell them in the dominions of the Elector Frederick of Saxony, where Wittenberg lay.

Martin Luther, of peasant birth, was one of the Augustinian Order of Friars, who had become a professor at the University of Wittenberg. **Luther's** He was a zealous student of the Bible, and of the works **awakening.** of the great St. Augustine (not St. Augustine of Canterbury) who was one of the 'Fathers of the Church' in the fourth century. What Augustine had taught could not be heresy. Luther found that according to the Bible and Augustine, God alone can forgive sins or withhold forgiveness—not any priest. To buy or sell pardons was a monstrous blasphemy—no priest could stand between the individual soul and its Maker. That was the point to which Luther's examination of the Indulgence question drove him. The claim that man can reach God and that God has chosen to reach man only through the intervention of the priest is false—yet it was precisely on that claim that the power of the clergy rested. To challenge it was to challenge the whole system, and was really to proclaim that no man has a right to be contented with accepting as truth merely what somebody else has told him—but that every man could find the truth for himself in his Bible.

Luther did not say or realise all this at once; but it was very clear **Luther's** to him that Indulgences were a blasphemous fraud. He **challenge.** drew up a series of 'theses' or arguments against Indulgences, nailed them up on the church door where men could read them,

and persuaded the Elector of Saxony to forbid the sale of Indulgences by the Pope's agent Tetzel within his dominions.

A hot controversy followed between Luther and Tetzel. Luther knew that the Pope's wrath would descend on him sooner or later, and he became active in denouncing other iniquities as he judged them to be—such as the regular payments made by Church and State in every country to the treasury of the Pope; whereby he made matters worse in one way, but also set princes thinking that there was sound sense in what he said. But it was not till 1520, when young Charles v. had just become emperor, that Pope Leo struck at the audacious reformer. A Papal Bull denounced Luther as a heretic, and he was summoned to give an account of himself before the Diet or Council of the Empire which was to meet at Worms at the beginning of 1521. Luther, it seemed, would have to submit, or meet the fate of John Huss at Constance a hundred years before.

Luther did not submit. He publicly burnt the Bull. It was a declaration of war from which there could be no going back.

MARTIN LUTHER faced the Diet of the Empire with his life in his hands—as Huss had faced the Council of Constance a century before. Huss died a martyr in spite of the emperor's pledged word; his death plunged Middle Europe into bloody wars which lasted for several years, and at the end of them his cause seemed lost. Luther lived, and made a revolution.

For the whole meaning of the truth which he proclaimed was this, that every man must answer to God and his own conscience for the faith that is in him; must refuse at all costs to profess that he believes that to be true which in his heart he believes to be false, whatever other men may say; that it is not only his right but (a much more important matter) his duty to make sure that he does believe in his heart the thing that he professes to believe with his lips. Hitherto men had been told: 'What the Church teaches is true; you must believe it or persuade yourself to believe it, and speak and act as if you believed it—not to do so is deadly sin; you must ask no more reason or believing it than the one fact that the Church says it is so; only where the Church has not pronounced what the truth is may you lawfully ask questions about it.' Now came Luther saying, 'If the Church really teaches this and that, then I am sure that its teaching is false, and I dare to say so because I must. If I am wrong, prove to me that

I am wrong and I will recant humbly. But if you cannot prove it, I abide by my words. "Here stand I; I can no other."'

If it was right for Luther, it was right for other men. If a man's conscience might tell him that in some things the teaching of the Church was false, it might tell him no less that in some things the Church or Bible? teaching of Luther was false. Luther made every man's own conscience the judge for that man. That was not what he intended. Like every one else, Luther believed, not that man could find out truth for himself by his own unaided reason, but that there had been a divine revelation—that is, that God had set the truth before men so that they could see it and hold it with absolute certainty. Only the churchmen said that the revelation was made through the Church inspired by the Holy Spirit; and Luther said that it was made through the inspired Scriptures wherein every man could find it—so that what Luther found in the Scriptures was certainly true. But then other people found in them things which differed from what Luther found in them—Zwingli for instance; and each was equally confident that the truth was what he found and not what the other found. Every one ought to have seen that what followed was this: Either it was not only the duty of every man to judge for himself but also his right to be allowed to do so; or else there must be some authority whose judgment every one was bound to accept instead of his own. The Church did see it, quite clearly, and gave its answer: Every one must accept the authority of the Church, or there will be only a chaos of conflicting beliefs and no certainty anywhere; there can be no right of private judgment. But Luther and the rest of the reformers started by saying, 'Here are things which the Church teaches and my reason and conscience forbid me to accept': yet they did not want a chaos of conflicting opinions.

And then the secular rulers stepped in and said, 'There must be order. What the State chooses to permit, that you may teach and The State. preach; what it does not permit, you may not teach or preach—whatever you think or believe'; and still some centuries passed before there were many states which permitted their subjects to teach and preach freely whatever they took to be the truth. And meanwhile in some states the rulers favoured the reformers and in others they would have no teaching but that of the Papalists, and again in others reformers were suffered but only under penalties; and where rulers themselves were reformers, some favoured only those who followed Luther, and others those who followed John Calvin (another

leader who presently rose up in Switzerland at Geneva); while the most of those who remained Papalists were for a long time zealous to force Papalism on their neighbours as well as on their own subjects. And all the time the men who cared deeply about religion went on seeking to teach and preach their own faith wherever they were, whether the rulers of the country permitted them or no; holding that the truth must be taught, that they knew the truth in their own souls, and that secular rulers had no divine authority to decide what was or was not the truth—unless at least the secular rulers happened to be on their own side.

WHEN Luther came before the Diet of the Empire at Worms, the Elector of Saxony was his very warm friend; the princes were divided; the knights and the common people were on his side; the clergy were hot against him. He stood firmly by all that he had said or written. If the Pope and the clergy denied it, then their teaching was false and their authority naught. His friends, fearing that the clergy would win in the Diet, carried him off and kept him hidden in the Wartburg for a long time. Meanwhile the Diet gave judgment against him and he was outlawed or ‘put to the ban of the empire’; for which the Elector cared little, not doubting that he could guard his friend. The young emperor’s mind was not much troubled by the religious question—he was content to accept what his fathers had believed; but he wanted peace in Germany because he was on the point of going to war with France. Each of the princes meant to go his own way; those who chose allowed Luther’s doctrines to be preached, and another Diet which was held at Spires in 1526 resolved that each prince should take his own course in his own territory ‘as he should answer it to God and his own conscience.’ The northern princes generally favoured Luther, the southern princes and the archbishops and bishops were on the Pope’s side.

Meanwhile there had been two wars in Germany—not state against state, but a rising of the knights who wanted a share of the political power which was all in the hands of the princes, and a great revolt of the peasantry who suffered far worse burdens than those of the English peasants in Wat Tyler’s time. The knights were mostly on Luther’s side; the peasants and their leaders had caught at Luther’s teaching just as the English peasants had caught at Wiclif’s; and so, though Luther himself denounced the risings—both of which were crushed—it was easy for the princes and the clergy to believe and to declare that Luther’s

5. The Diet
of Worms,
1521.

Knights’
War and
Peasants’
War.

teaching was at the bottom of the trouble and that if men followed him the world would be turned upside down. Therefore when a second Diet was held at Spires (or Speier) in 1529, the anti-Lutherans had become the stronger party, and this time—as at Worms—it was resolved that the new teaching must be put down. Which was more easily said than done, seeing that the Lutheran princes were ready to stand together and assert their right to go their own way. They drew up a great Protest, for which reason those who signed it were called **The Protest** Protestants; and though the real Protestants were of Spires. Lutherans the name came later to be used for all anti-Papalists; whereas the Papalists called themselves Catholics, holding that all others had cut themselves off from the true Church Universal or Church Catholic (though half of the reformers denied that altogether and claimed that they had as much right to the name Catholic as the Papalists), and so it came about that in all the wars of religion it became the common practice to speak of the one side as Catholics and of the other as Protestants, though Papalist is a better word to use for the former. Yet the split was not finally completed till 1563, when the Council of Trent held its last session, and all the first actors in the drama had been dead for some years.

THE principal rulers were very far from being religious men. It is true that Henry VIII., when he had an elder brother living, was educated
 6. Henry, with the rather curious idea that he might become a
 Charles, and churchman, and prided himself a good deal on his learning,
 Francis. so that he wrote a book to prove that Luther was in the
 wrong, for which Leo X. gave him the title of Defender of the Faith
 (that is why we still stamp on our coins F.D. or Fid. Def., standing for *Fidei Defensor*). But he was a man who used religion for political purposes, and as it happened he turned against the Pope. In like manner Charles and Francis, though neither of them actually turned against the Pope, threatened to do so if he displeased them. Charles was troubled by the religious question because he wanted to keep Germany united under his rule. Francis wanted to keep the Pope on his own side and persecuted reformers. But both were much more anxious about their personal rivalry than about religion. Almost from the Diet of Worms to the first Diet of Spires they were fighting, and afterwards Francis was always ready to stir up reformers in Germany or enemies elsewhere—even the infidel Turks—to get a chance of attacking Charles while he was in difficulties.

So while Charles wanted to repress the Protestants, he wanted still more not to have civil war raging in Germany. In fact what most men wanted was to get the religious question settled and out of the way without war; each, too, professed to believe that there was one way of doing it, and that was by holding a General Council of the Church. For the reformers said that the questions which had been raised by Wiclif and Luther had never been definitely settled—their teaching was really the teaching of the Church, and that churchmen were now teaching was not the Church's true doctrine. But then came the difficulty that every one wanted the Council to be one which would be sure to decide the questions in the way which he thought right. Consequently they could not agree how the Council was to be made up or where it was to meet.

Finally a Council was summoned which met at Trent in the north of Italy in 1545. But the conditions on which the Pope had insisted made it quite certain that the Council would decide everything in the Pope's favour. The Reformers said this could not be a real General Council at all, and they would either attend it nor regard its judgments as having any authority. And it was this Council of Trent, which went on meeting at intervals for nearly twenty years, that ended in 1563 after it had declared all the papalist views to be the true faith of the Catholic Church. And it was this that drew the lasting barrier between the so-called Catholics and Protestants. That was in the time of Pius IV., the sixth Pope since Leo's death in 1521. Luther had died in 1546, Henry and Francis in 1547, and Charles in 1558.

THE Lutheran Protestants made the Protest of Spires in 1529, and next they gave the Lutheran doctrines a definite shape in the Confession of Augsburg: also they bound themselves together for common defence in the League of Schmalkald. It was quite certain that they could not be suppressed without hard fighting, which no one was willing to begin. The next ten years, 1530 to 1540, were remarkable in the history of the Reformation for two things: the rise of John Calvin at Geneva, and the foundation of the famous Order of the Jesuits on the other side.

The reformers were already divided between Lutherans and Zwinglians who disagreed on some important questions. Calvinism. Calvin brought about a still more serious division. In most matters he was more nearly in agreement with the 'Zurich School,' the

Appeal to a
Council.

Council of
Trent.
1545-63.

7. League of
Schmalkald.

Zwinglians, than with Luther; but the most striking part of the Calvinist creed was the doctrine of 'Predestination.' Calvin held that from the beginning of the world every soul was 'predestined' to salvation or else to damnation, eternal bliss or eternal misery: Every one is born 'elect' or doomed for ever. But no less important than his doctrine was the system of Church government which he built up in Geneva, known as the Presbyterian system. The Church was not to be ruled by bishops at all but by presbyters (a word which means elders); the clergy were known no more as priests but as ministers; in every congregation (taking the place of the 'parish'), the minister and the elders were the highest authority with power to enforce the most rigid moral and religious rules. But the ministers and elders were bound by rules laid down in a district assembly of elders and ministers, and then again by a higher assembly or synod, finishing at the top with a General Assembly. Thus the Calvinistic system broke away altogether from the old rule of orders of the clergy, deacons, priests, bishops, and the Pope at the top, the 'episcopal' system. We shall see presently that Scottish and Dutch and French Protestants (called Huguenots) generally followed Calvin, while of other Protestant states some followed Calvin but more Luther; Lutherans and Calvinists were often fiercely opposed to each other, and England went her own way following neither.

Of the Order of Jesuits we shall speak later, since they did not begin to play a part in British history till Queen Elizabeth was seated on the throne of England.

II. The King and the Cardinal : 1520-1531.

Wolsey's Foreign Policy, 1520-7—The King's Conscience—The Cardinal's Fall.

WE turn again now to the story of our own islands: which we broke off in the year 1520, when Wolsey was seeking to hold the balance between the king of France and the young emperor, and both were seeking the English alliance. That summer, the kings of France and England, to display the warmth of their friendship, met in the gorgeous pageantry of the Field of the Cloth of Gold near Calais (when a good many of the courtiers ruined themselves on extravagant magnificence)—but a few days earlier Charles had had a private meeting with the cardinal in England. Whatever Wolsey's own wishes were, he knew that Henry meant to

1. Wolsey
and the
monarchs,
1520.

side with the emperor, who was his wife's nephew, against England's traditional enemy, France; half the English nobles were thirsting to fight the French; a French war was generally popular in England; and he got for himself the promise—which was not kept—of Charles's support at the next papal election. His business was to see that as little harm as possible should result.

For the moment however England showed no signs of anything but friendship for both the rival monarchs. The war between them did not break out till next year (when Leo x. died, and Wolsey A French war, 1522-6. was not chosen Pope). In 1522 England joined in as the ally of Charles; and Wolsey found—as he expected—that parliament was not at all enthusiastic about the war when he called upon it for money. The Commons stood on their 'privileges' and refused to discuss the money question in his presence, though they voted it when he retired. He did not venture to ask again but proposed to raise what he called an 'Amicable Loan'—which was much the same thing as a 'Benevolence.' Every one resisted the demand, as illegal. Henry, seeing that popular feeling was rising, made himself popular and increased the cardinal's unpopularity, by declaring that the demand ought never to have been made. Meanwhile, though the English troops were rather playing at war in Picardy, Francis, fighting against Charles in the south, was getting the worst of it and in 1525 met with a crushing defeat at Pavia in Italy where he was taken prisoner—the message carried to the French court was the famous phrase, 'All is lost save honour.'

Wolsey could now make the king see that it was not he but Charles—already dangerously strong—who would gain everything if the war went on, and a general peace was patched up next year. Peace, 1526. Francis was set free, though every one knew that he would attack Charles as soon as he thought there was a chance of striking a successful blow. But nearly every one in England believed that Wolsey had made friends with Francis because for the second time Charles had failed to support him at a papal election in 1523 when Clement vii. was made Pope.

Now Clement at first had been friendly to Charles; but after the battle of Pavia it looked as if Charles would be able to do what he liked in North Italy. Clement turned against Charles, and the result of that was that the emperor's troops attacked Rome itself, stormed the Holy City and sacked it (1527), and made Clement himself a prisoner. Charles, Clement, and Henry, 1527. Pope and

emperor made up their quarrel, but after that Clement never dared to risk another conflict with Charles; the consequences whereof were serious. For the unlucky Pope discovered that he would have to make his choice between offending Charles and offending Henry VIII. Henry was a long way off; between England and Rome lay the whole width of Europe, and in those days there was no English fleet to make an attack through the Mediterranean. Henry could neither attack Rome nor defend it. Charles could do whichever he liked and whenever he liked unless he was too much taken up with France, or the Turks, or troubles in Germany or with the Spanish nobles. In short, Charles was the more dangerous enemy, and the more desirable friend. Clement would do everything in his power to avoid offending either—but if the choice had to be made, he would defy Henry rather than Charles.

PERHAPS it was partly because Henry saw that Charles would certainly oppose a project on which his own will was firmly set that he allowed
2. Queen Wolsey to change the policy of England and offer her Katharine. friendship and alliance to France. For he had made up his mind in 1526 to take a new queen in place of his wife, Katharine of Aragon, the emperor's aunt. There was only one way of getting free to marry again, unless Katharine died—by proving that she had never been his lawful wife at all. Could that be done? She had been married to his elder brother, before he himself took her to wife. Such marriages were not lawful; but that particular marriage had been made lawful by a Dispensation from Pope Julius II.—so it was supposed. But what if the Pope had no more power to give the Dispensation for a marriage with one's brother's widow than for marriage with an actual sister? In that case, in spite of the dispensation there had been no marriage, though there had been a marriage ceremony; and Henry was free. But Henry could not on his own account declare that there was no force in a Dispensation granted by a Pope on which he had himself acted. Pope Clement must say that Pope Julius had been in error when he thought he had the power to grant the Dispensation. And if Clement were to declare that for all these years the emperor's aunt had been living, however innocently, as the wife of a man who was not her husband at all, the emperor would certainly be extremely angry with Clement as well as with Henry.

There were numbers of people then, and there are now, who believed that nothing whatever could make a marriage between a man and his brother's widow lawful. There had been much hesitation before Julius

consented to give the Dispensation. Henry took up the high moral ground and said that his conscience was troubled and its questionings must be set at rest ; but it had not troubled him till he had been married for at least fifteen years, and now it was quite clear that he had made up his own mind and would be satisfied only if the Pope confirmed his own decision.

The fact was that he had discovered both a good reason and a bad one for *wishing* to be free to marry again. He wanted a son to succeed him on the throne ; several children had been born, but only one, his daughter Mary, was still living ; no queen had ever succeeded to the throne of England in her own right ; unless he had a son, there would probably be trouble about the succession when he died ; and in 1526 it was certain that Katharine would never have another child. That was the good reason. Wolsey and many other statesmen shared it. The bad reason was that he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honour, and was determined to marry her—which was the last thing that Wolsey or any other statesmen would desire. Having those two reasons for wishing to marry again, Henry became aware of the conscientious scruples which told him that it was his duty to part from a wife who was no wife ; scruples which were confirmed when he considered that the death of one child after another was a proof of Divine displeasure.

It is not at all a pretty story : there are not many of the actors who come out of it well. First we have the king, bent on getting free, by hook or by crook, of the queen who had been his loyal wife for nearly a score of years, bent on marrying in her place a girl who was quite unfit to be queen of England, and justifying himself by a pretence that he was driven on the course he followed by the rigour of his conscience. Then the feeble Pope, afraid to offend him by saying ' No,' afraid to offend Charles by saying ' Yes,' afraid to say that another Pope had claimed powers which no Pope possessed, trying every trick of the law to avoid giving an answer at all. Then the cardinal, looking upon the whole matter as an affair of State, though probably believing honestly that the marriage had been contrary to the moral law ; anxious that the king should marry again, still more anxious that he should not marry Anne Boleyn, yet knowing that if he failed to get Henry his desire the king would fling him to the wolves without remorse, and striving vainly to find a way of escape. Then the young woman who with her friends was playing for a crown. Only for the queen we can have nothing but pity, and admiration for the

few friends who stood stoutly by her like Fisher of Rochester and Thomas More, braving the king's wrath ; loyal to their faith—whether we think it right or wrong—that a Pope's ruling must be held valid at least until another Pope should contradict it.

THE 'King's Affair' as it was called brought Henry into direct conflict with Clement. If the Pope refused to give Henry what he wanted, 3. Wolsey's then Henry would defy his authority altogether. In the difficulties. end Clement did refuse ; Henry cast off the 'papal obedience' and made himself—a layman—'Head of the Church' in England. But the immediate effect of it, before the king joined battle with the Pope, was the ruin of the cardinal. Wolsey, confident in his own powers, confident that the king needed him and knew it, had raised up a host of enemies. The arrogance of the nobles who despised him as an upstart, he met with equal arrogance and contempt. He worked for the king, regardless of his own popularity, often regardless of justice ; the king took what profit there was for himself and laid what blame there was on the cardinal. Now Henry demanded of him a thing which he hated doing, and which in fact it was not in his power to do. At last Clement instead of giving a decision appointed a 'Legatine Commission' to examine the whole question in England. The legates, the Pope's deputies, were to be the Italian cardinal Campeggio and the English cardinal Wolsey ; though by English law (Richard II.'s Statute of Praemunire) no papal legate could be admitted to the country. The king however accepted the Commission ; Wolsey in fact had long ago been appointed legate by Henry's own wish, in order that his authority might override that of Archbishop Warham. The cardinals sat together as a court of justice ; Katharine denied the impartiality of the court and appealed from it to the Pope himself. The cardinals asserted their authority and went on with the 'Trial' (1529). But Campeggio had his secret instructions that though as much time was to be wasted as possible no decision was to Wolsey's be reached. When no more procrastination was possible fall, 1529. he produced an order from Clement cancelling the Commission and calling the whole case to be tried in Rome. Campeggio escaped in haste from England. The trial was over. Wolsey had not won what his master wanted—the one thing Henry wanted now. Wolsey was of no more use, and it was on Wolsey that Henry vented his wrath.

The cardinal was ignominiously stripped of all his possessions which

and grown great, and dismissed from all his offices, which were many ; except the archbishopric of York, whither he was sent in disgrace.

There for some months he displayed a zeal, a charity, a tenderness for his people, of which none had suspected him ; he awoke their affection. But his ruin was not complete enough to satisfy His end, the malice of his enemies. Charges of treason were trumped 1530.

Against him, and he was summoned to London to answer them. He started on his southward journey a broken man. On the way he became desperately ill and was carried into the Abbey of Leicester to die—happier so, it may be, than if he had lived to meet a mock trial. He ended the tragedy of the great cardinal (1530).

At the hour of Wolsey's fall in 1529 a parliament was summoned—one of the most notable in our history. It had hailed his overthrow with joy, but one voice had been raised to take his part, Thomas Cromwell. The voice of his secretary, Thomas Cromwell—whose boldness brought on him not the wrath but the favour of the king ; who knew the value of loyalty, though no man ever rewarded it with more shameless ingratitude. Of those who had turned upon Wolsey many were to repent the day which gave Henry a minister more remorseless, more unscrupulous, and more formidable than ever the cardinal had been.

III. The Breach with Rome : 1529-1534.

The Situation—Henry's Parliament and Ministers—The Papacy renounced.

WOLSEY'S failure in 1529 to procure the nullification of the marriage usually but wrongly called a 'divorce') from Katharine of Aragon was the turning-point in the reign of Henry VIII. ; and it came at the same moment as the Protest of Spires which was a turning-point in the history of the Reformation. Here then we may pause for a moment to review the position.

Abroad the emperor was at truce with France, while he had the Pope very much at his mercy ; but the Lutheran princes of Germany had made it clear that they would stand together in arms against any attempt to challenge the right of each of them to control religion as well as everything else within his own dominions, while the princes who were anti-Lutheran knew that the sympathies of large numbers of their subjects were on the Lutheran side. Therefore as a matter of statecraft it suited both Henry and Francis to keep on good terms

with the 'Schmalkaldic League' of Protestant princes, though both of them professed to be strictly 'orthodox' upholders of the old doctrines against Luther's 'heretical' views. And at the same time each of the three monarchs was determined that the Pope should not be allowed to revive the old claims of the mediaeval Papacy to an authority higher than or equal to that of the monarch within his own dominions.

But the 'King's Affair' in England had not only set up a new cause of difference between Henry and Charles; it had changed Henry's attitude towards the Pope. It had made him definitely resolve that if Clement would not grant him his desire and give the decision he wanted about the marriage, the Pope's authority in England should be wiped out for good and all. The churchmen in England must be made to understand that they would have to side with him against the Pope, set the papal authority at naught, and recognise that the king and no one else was their master. There should be no more division of allegiance between the Head of the Church and the Head of the State; there was to be only one Head—though the 'Defender of the Faith' had no intention of admitting new doctrines unless they were necessary to the assertion of his own supremacy in religious matters instead of the Pope's.

Across the Scottish border the still very young king James v. had just taken into his own hands the royal authority which during his minority had been exercised chiefly by the Douglas earl of Angus, who had married the king's mother. Aided by rival factions among the nobles and supported by the churchmen—who had always been allied with the Crown against the nobles—young James broke the power of the 'Red' Douglasses as James II. had broken the 'Black' Douglasses seventy years before. But his alliance with the churchmen—first especially James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, and then Cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews—had the effect of making the Scottish government during the rest of his reign intensely hostile to the Reformation in Scotland, and also to James's uncle Henry in England as an enemy of the Church. For the next thirty years we shall see Scottish reformers habitually seeking the protection of English friendship, while the Church party cling to the traditional French alliance.

HENRY then in 1529 found before him the business of a great campaign against the authority of the Papacy. Kings and emperors in the past, defying popes, had generally had the worse in the conflict, or very

little the better. The one chance of victory lay in the king having public opinion at his back, and popular sentiment was all on Katharine's side on the particular question at issue between the Pope and the king; an issue however on which the king was determined to win at all costs. And yet if he did not carry the country with him somehow, he was fairly certain to be beaten. He won by bringing parliament into full play.

2. Henry
and
Parliament.

In twenty years Henry had called only two parliaments—in 1515 and 1523. Wolsey did not love parliaments. He meant to rule himself through his influence over the king, and parliaments were a check on the royal authority. It had been possible to rule almost without parliaments because of the huge treasure which Henry VII. had left behind him. The two parliaments that were called had made two things quite clear: Lords and Commons alike were anti-clerical, resented the privileges and the wealth of the clergy, and resented their political influence; and the Commons would stand stubbornly on their rights if they were challenged, especially their right of withholding supplies, and their right of discussing and criticising whatever they chose.

But Henry knew his own power. He had proved in 1521 that opposition to his will was not to be feared from the peers by striking down the duke of Buckingham, the premier peer of the realm and a prince of the blood royal, doubly descended from Edward III. A charge of treason had been trumped up against the duke, who had been condemned unanimously by a legally constituted court of which all the leading nobles were members. No peer would dare after that to raise hand or voice against the king. And Henry's own mother-wit, not the advice of any minister, taught him—first that the strongest card he could possibly play for the carrying out of his policy was the open support of the House of Commons, and secondly that he could count on that support. Therefore he summoned that parliament to meet in 1529.

The Peers
subservient.

He could count on its anti-clericalism. For a century and a half, parliament after parliament had denounced 'clerical abuses' and clamoured for the forfeiture or at least the heavy taxation of clerical wealth. For a still longer time any parliament had supported legislation against papal intervention in the management and government of the Church in England; the statute of Praemunire stood on the Statute Book, forbidding appeals to Rome or submission to legatine authority in England, though

The
Commons
favourable.

kings with churchmen for ministers had often found it convenient to disregard the law. Even among the English clergy there had always been many who resented the control by a Pope who was never an Englishman, and the contributions which they were obliged to make to the papal treasury, such as the 'Annates,' the first year's income which they had to hand over on receiving preferment. And there was another point. The more Henry took from the clergy, the less he would need to ask for from the laity. Henry meant to lay before his parliament a programme which in its main lines at least would be sure of acceptance; and when it was carried out, the English clergy would be under his heel, his own coffers—now almost empty—would be agreeably replenished, and he could snap his fingers at the Pope, unless Clement saved a semblance of unreal authority by submitting to his terms.

At the hour of Wolsey's fall Henry had not found ministers on whom he could rely to carry out his programme. Thomas More was appointed **More and Gardiner.** to the Chancellorship, a man whose wit and wisdom were known to all Europe, an enemy of all corruption whether lay or clerical, a leader of the Educational Reformers, but one who would obey his conscience at all costs. Stephen Gardiner took Wolsey's place as bishop of Winchester, a learned man who as Henry's agent in Rome had not hesitated to warn Clement that his authority in England was at stake, an anti-Papalist as yet but a zealous champion of the authority of the Church; a man perhaps capable of making Becket his model, if he should succeed old Archbishop Warham at Canterbury. But within a few weeks Henry had found precisely the instruments he wanted in Thomas Cromwell and in the Cambridge scholar and divine, Thomas Cranmer.

Cromwell was an adventurer. It was said that his father was a blacksmith at Putney. He had run away to seek his fortune, travelled **Thomas Cromwell.** over Europe, served in a troop of mercenaries in Italy, read, listened, learnt, acted; gone into business, returned to England, taken up law as a profession, been discovered by Wolsey and employed by him as an agent and secretary. His defence of Wolsey attracted the king's attention; before long he was deep in the king's confidence. We can guess that his hand and brain were at work in the king's doings though for some years he was only in the background.

Thomas Cranmer was as different from him as a man could be; a scholar, imbued with the new learning; naturally timid but often displaying a rare courage; a man who inspired the merciless Henry

and the equally merciless Cromwell with an affection half-admiring and half-contemptuous; easily swayed by men like them, harder and stronger than himself; already with a marked leaning, Thomas which increased as the years passed, towards Lutheran Cranmer. Zwinglian doctrines. But what stamped him as being precisely the man whom Henry wanted at the head of the English clergy was that he was that very rare thing, a churchman who believed that the Church ought to be under the State. Plenty of laymen believed it, but the vast majority of the clergy believed that their office and their ordination set them apart from other men as the divinely appointed guides in matters of religion. If they yielded to the physical power which the State could wield, it was a submission not to right but to force. In the eyes of such men, Cranmer seemed and still seems a traitor to his trust as a priest. People who believe as Cranmer believed are called Erastians, and what Henry wanted was an Erastian to succeed Warham. Warham however had not gone yet, and meanwhile Cranmer was employed to help in carrying out a suggestion which he himself had made—that the question of the legality of the king's Appeal to the Universities. marriage should be referred for decision not to the Pope but to the learned men, the 'Doctors' of the universities of Europe. We can leave Cranmer on his travels. They came to nothing, because all the universities gave their judgments in accordance with the views of the rulers in the country where they were situated, so that they balanced each other. Probably they were honest enough, but where the arguments on both sides of a question are fairly even, most men in the end are influenced unconsciously in favour of the answer which it suits their own interests to give. The universities did not help to a decision. In the end, when Warham died in 1532, Cranmer was duly made archbishop, and the question was solved on the principle that the English Church Courts with the archbishop as supreme judge had authority to decide the legal question themselves, without reference to the Pope. But that was only when the last lingering hope of extorting a favourable judgment from Clement had passed away.

MEANWHILE the king had opened his campaign. Parliament in 1529 began by legislation to stop clerical practices which were called 'abuses,' such as the holding of several benefices by one man (called pluralities) and the like. Then parliament—not the king 3. The Campaign opens, 1529.—held its hand for a while. Henry's conscience required him to point out to the clergy who met in their own Convocation

(1531), that they, the guardians of public morals, had been guilty of a shocking breach of the law (the Praemunire Statute) in submitting to the Legatine Courts held by Wolsey as legate. They might however be graciously pardoned if they acknowledged their error, and paid an enormous fine, at the same time declaring that the king was the 'Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church in England.' As there was no one else to protect them they had to submit.

Next year, 1532, it was the parliament's turn. It opened with a direct move against the Pope, passing an Annates Act authorising the king to forbid the payments of annates to Rome—a proposal favoured by many of the clergy; as yet however the Act was not put in force. It went on to another attack on the clergy, called the 'Supplication against the Ordinaries' (that is, the ecclesiastical courts) denouncing some of their practices and also protesting against the ecclesiastical laws or 'canons' which were made not by Parliament but by Convocation. The result of the 'Supplication' was the 'Submission of the Clergy'—an undertaking by Convocation to pass no more canons without the king's consent, and to revise some of those already made. The blow broke the old archbishop's heart, and his death cleared the way for Cranmer's appointment at the beginning of 1533; also it caused More to resign the chancellorship as a protest against the measure.

The appeal to the universities had broken down. The king was resolved that either Clement or the English Church Courts should dissolve his marriage. Delay in the judgment made no difference to what he counted as the fact that he was not really a married man at all, and he married Anne Boleyn secretly, either in November or in January 1533. There was no sign of yielding on Clement's part. In April, Parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals, which confirmed all past legislation against the exercise of the Pope's authority in England; and in May the new archbishop held a Court for the trial of the 'King's Affair' which gave its judgment that the marriage was no marriage (from which it followed that the marriage with Anne Boleyn was legal and that Katharine's daughter Mary was illegitimate—not born in wedlock). Clement retorted by declaring the judgment of the English Court invalid; Henry replied by confirming the Annates Act, and the Act in Restraint of Appeals. It remained only for Clement to complete the breach by a definite declaration affirming the validity of the marriage with Katharine, which he did in March 1534.

IV. Cromwell and Henry VIII. : 1535-1547.

The Royal Supremacy—The Lesser Monasteries—The Pilgrimage of Grace—
The Greater Monasteries—After Cromwell.

May 1533 Henry had achieved the purpose for the sake of which he had smitten down the great minister who had served him faithfully twenty years. Anne Boleyn was his wife, with the sanction of the Dignitaries of the Church in England, and she was crowned queen with magnificent pageantry. If she had yielded herself to him as his mistress, he would certainly not have troubled to make her his wife. In September she bore him the daughter who twenty-five years later became Queen Elizabeth; but she never gave him the son he wanted; he was as unfaithful to her as he had been to Katharine, and after less than three years of queenship he found a pretext for sending her to the block (1536) and taking a third wife, Anne Seymour.

The marriage with Anne was first declared void by the Church Courts, on the ground that she was 'precontracted' to another man. The plea on which Richard III. had declared his nephew Edward V. illegitimate—so that neither Elizabeth nor Mary counted as Henry's lawful children; but Anne was executed because a Civil Court (not a Church Court) found her guilty of treason. Civil courts invariably find that charges of treason were true, however flimsy the evidence might be. For it was held that the accused person was to be judged guilty unless he could prove his innocence, though now we hold that a man must be judged innocent unless his guilt is proved beyond reasonable doubt—which is a very different matter. One thing however was perfectly clear. Both the marriages might be void and both the girls illegitimate; but they could not both be legitimate, because if Katharine was Henry's lawful wife Anne was never his wife at all.

Henry in 1533 had gained his purpose, but in order to do it he had been obliged to declare flatly that the Pope had no authority in England; and that had forced him to persuade the clergy—by the simple process of proving that they were helpless against the Royal Supremacy—to acknowledge his own supremacy; which no king had ever dared to do before. But they were not yet helpless enough. The conscience of many men, like Sir Thomas More, was shocked; popular feeling might swing over to the side of the Church strongly enough to become dangerous. The whole country, clergy and laity, must be

made to understand clearly that the king was supreme by law and irresistible in fact. When that was done, matters would be ripe for the seizure of the Church's wealth by the Crown. In all of which the guiding brain and the master hand were those of Henry's new and most terrible servant Cromwell.

Two men most of all stood in the way—More, the most honoured of living Englishmen, and Fisher, the saintly bishop of Rochester. They must be brought into line if possible—if not, men should be taught that learning, virtue, nobility of character, would not suffice to save them from destruction. A woman, probably half-crazy, half-impostor, known as the Nun of Kent, had been exciting popular opposition to the 'divorce' by stories of visions and divine inspirations. She was condemned and put to death, and Henry made a false move in proposing that More and Fisher should be attainted as her accomplices. He dropped the plan when he found that the Commons would probably refuse to pass the Bill. Cromwell however had a sounder plan.

An Act of Succession was passed (1534) declaring the little princess Elizabeth heir to the throne, and declaring also that the marriage with Katharine had been invalid. More and Fisher, though admitting the lawful power of Parliament to fix the succession on Elizabeth, held that the marriage was valid and refused to make the declaration when they were required to do so. They were sent to the Tower. Convocation was required to make a declaration that the Bishop of Rome had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop. Then Parliament was set to work again. It declared that Annates were thenceforth to be payable to the king instead of to the Pope: it passed the 'Act of the Supreme Head,' making into a statute of the realm his declaration made by Convocation in 1531; and by the Act of Supremacy it formally required every one to make on oath the declaration which More and Fisher had refused. Both stood by their conscientious convictions, and still refused. Both were beheaded, to the shocked amazement of all Europe (1535). Seven heads of Monastic Houses—CARTHUSIAN and BRIGITTINE friars—were hanged for the same offence.

But first Cromwell had forged the most terrible of all his weapons, the Treasons Act of 1534. Hitherto it had been necessary to be guilty of some act which could be called treasonable; but this made it treason not only to utter words which might have a treasonable meaning, but even to say nothing when silence might be taken as a sign of treasonable sentiments.

CROMWELL'S reign of terror had begun. His grip was closing. The Treasons Act gave him a fearful power; the country was sown with spies and informers; a whisper to Cromwell of words uttered incautiously, or of a too careful silence, would henceforth mean arrest, trial, and certain condemnation if the minister thought the victim worth crushing—while all would be done studiously under form of law. Until Cromwell should cross his master's will, he could do what he would.

Thomas Cromwell had no scruples. Whatsoever stood between him and his purpose was to be wiped out: and his purpose was to give Henry such power as never a king of England had wielded before him. So long as the Church retained its wealth, it might become dangerous; when its wealth passed into the king's hands he would be irresistible. The Church, the nobles, and the Commons' command of supplies had in the past been the three checks on the Crown's power. The spoliation of the Church would make an end of the first and the third; what remained of the second could be dealt with under the Treasons Act. To the Church, from his point of view, meant the Monasteries, the 'regular' clergy; from the secular clergy with the Erastian Cranmer as their official head, there was nothing to fear, despite the antagonism of such men as Gardiner. And the monks in the eastern and south-eastern counties were unpopular, whatever they might be in the north and west.

In 1535 Cromwell was appointed Vicar-General—in other words, the king's deputy in ecclesiastical matters. For long there had been complaints that the monasteries were not doing their work in obeying their rules; that they were in fact hotbeds of heresy, not houses of religion. The Vicar-General's first step was to arrange a 'visitation,' a commission of inquiry who should inspect and report. His chosen commissioners, Leigh and Layton, carried out his intentions. Their report, as far as the smaller monasteries were concerned, was appalling; as concerned the larger abbeys and priories it was not so unfavourable as the commissioners had hoped and expected, though they had gone on the general principle of accepting all adverse evidence and calling none on the other side. Their reports were put together in a 'Black Book'—which appeared. But before its disappearance enough of it was quoted in parliament to arouse its fierce indignation and to procure from it an act abolishing the smaller houses and confiscating their possessions to the Crown (1536). Probably parliament was quite willing to be con-

2. Thomas
Cromwell,
1535.

1535-6.
Lesser
monasteries
destroyed.

vinced, but if even a tenth part of what was stated about the monasteries was true their suppression would have been morally justified.

Now in this year 1536 sundry other events were already taking place with which Cromwell was less concerned. First there was the execution of Anne Boleyn on charges, which may or may not have been true—Cranmer pleaded in vain for her life—and the immediate marriage of Henry to a blameless Maid of Honour, Jane Seymour. A year later she died after giving birth to the boy who became Edward VI. There could be no question about the legality of her marriage, for the unfortunate Katharine had died some months before Anne's execution. But in 1536 Henry had no legitimate children, and the actual heir to the English throne was the son of his elder sister, James V. of Scotland; or if James was passed over, Frances Grey, countess of Dorset, daughter of the younger sister Mary whose husband had been made duke of Suffolk. The famous Reformation Parliament was dissolved in its seventh year, after passing the Act against the monasteries, and a new one took its place. An Act was promptly passed bestowing on the king authority to settle the course of the succession by his own will.

Nothing so far had been done in England to settle the questions about doctrine which men were asking everywhere. Cranmer in his Bible and travels had learned to sympathise strongly with various Ten Articles. Lutheran or Zwinglian ideas; whereas the Defender of the Faith prided himself on his own stern orthodoxy, and his old pamphlet against Luther had made the Protestants on the Continent very distrustful of him. Still something had to be done, for the 'establishing of Christian quietness' as was said; and Henry, urged by Cranmer and Cromwell, consented to the preparation of an English Bible. Also he gave his approval, as did both Parliament and Convocation, to a statement called the Ten Articles which distinguished between 'essentials,' that is matters of faith which must be believed, and 'things expedient or convenient,' that is rules which must be obeyed unless and until the authorities chose to alter them but not to be considered as having been divinely ordained. The Articles however made no change in established practices.

Now it will be useful to keep in mind for some time to come the rough division of England into the North, the Middle, and West. the East, and the West, which may be marked off on the map by lines drawn from Chester to the Wash, from the Wash to

portsmouth and from Gloucester to Portland: while middle and east are again cut in two by the course of the Thames valley, making the Midlands and the Middle South, and the Eastern Counties and the South-East. The north with its fells and dales, the west with its moors and rocks were for long rougher and harder and less prosperous than the more fertile east and middle; also they were more primitive, clinging to old traditions; whereas the folk of the east were always more ready for new ideas. In the past, it was in the east that the peasants had risen to demand release from serfdom of which there had been much less in the north and west. And in the east and midlands the monasteries had always been harder and more grasping landlords than in the north and west; perhaps because the temptation to seek wealth which it was easier to win was stronger. And so we find that the east was always the stronghold of hostility to 'the Church' even from the old days of Wiclif; the stronghold of Protestantism and anti-clericalism under the Tudors and of Puritanism under the Stewarts. Whereas it was in the north and west that men held most stoutly fast to the old faith and then to Church and King.

So it befell that the attacks on the Church, the 'innovations,' the series of changes to come, created in the north a much livelier alarm and indignation than in the east or in middle England.

The first suppression of monasteries swept away a number

Unrest.

in Yorkshire; and men felt that the doom of the big monasteries, which were popular there, would soon follow; and the monks were hardy enough to encourage the alarm.

In September there was rioting in Lincolnshire; in October all Yorkshire rose in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' headed by a lawyer of a good Yorkshire family, Robert Aske. The people gathered

The Pil-

an army of thirty thousand men, to the standard, the emblem of the 'Five Wounds of Christ.' Aske would

grimage of
Grace, 1536.

not call it rebellion. They demanded that the king should dismiss his 'evil counsellors'—Cromwell and Cranmer to wit—that there should be no 'innovations' in religion, and that a parliament should be held in the north where the sentiment of the country could make itself felt. They were in arms only for self-defence. They marched to Doncaster, where they were met by Norfolk, who promised that they would be pardoned and their demands granted if they would disperse. Aske trusted the promise and disbanded his troops. But some hot-heads of the party broke away and tried to seize Scarborough. Henry, taken by surprise at first, had meanwhile been collecting troops, and

snatched at the excuse—the rebels had broken faith! The royal forces swooped upon Yorkshire. Aske's soldiers had gone home. Resistance was impossible. The leaders of the original rising were taken and executed including sundry abbots and priors; hundreds of their followers were seized and hanged; the 'rebellion' was stamped out in blood (1537).

An important consequence was the institution of a special 'Council of the North' for the government of the northern counties; a body from which the nobles were excluded, though its president was the bishop of Durham. Its members were appointed by the king; it was in fact simply an instrument in the king's hands exercising arbitrary powers like the court of Star Chamber—powers outside the ordinary law—though like that court it was not 'illegal' since it was legally constituted.

In the same year as the rising (1536) the 'Act of Wales' brought the principality into the same system with England, with shires and boroughs sending their members to the Commons' House of Parliament, though for its government there continued to be, for another century, a Council of Wales on much the same lines as the Council of the North.

THE greater monasteries were not allowed to survive long. None of them were in the habit of keeping strictly the very severe rules of their Orders, which the Vicar-General now compelled them to enforce, so that many of them preferred to surrender their property and be dissolved. Finally in 1539, partly on the strength of the old reports and partly on the ground that they had shared in the Pilgrimage of Grace or were otherwise guilty of treason, those that were left were dissolved by Act of Parliament and their property was forfeited to the Crown. Monasticism was ended in England. The wealth was squandered; most of the land was given away or sold for very little, generally to men who had made money and wanted to join the ranks of the landed gentry, so that a new class of landowners arose. A little was spent on schools—for in country districts no one except the monks had hitherto taken the business of education in hand. But the best use Henry made of the money which came into the exchequer was to spend it on shipbuilding and the creation of a small but efficient Royal Navy.

Meanwhile Cromwell had dealt with the one section of the nobility who were capable of becoming dangerous—the families which claimed

4. The end
of monasti-
cism, 1539.

cent from Edward iv. or his brother George of Clarence—there were more of the De la Poles, descendants of his sister Elizabeth. Clarence's son Warwick had been beheaded by Henry VII.; Poles and daughter, the countess of Salisbury, had been Courtenays, married to a Sir Richard Pole. She was still living; her 1538. youngest son was Lord Montague; a younger son, Reginald, was a churchman who had been made cardinal, was living abroad, and had been active in denouncing Henry. Edward iv.'s second daughter had been married to William Courtenay whose son—Henry's cousin—was a squires of Exeter. It was just possible that an insurrection against Henry might be attempted, with one of these two as figurehead. Cromwell discovered evidence of such a plot which was sufficient for punishing them under the Treasons Act. Both were beheaded, and the countess of Salisbury's execution was only deferred for a short time (1538).

One thing was still needed to complete the work on which Cromwell had been so long engaged. In 1539 an Act of Parliament was passed which allowed the king to make laws by proclamation Royal Proclamations Act, 1539. without their having first passed through parliament. This power was bestowed only on this one king—not on any other—being something to which kings already had a legal right.

But in matters of religion the Reformation was hardly moving forward. Cranmer had procured the appointment of other bishops such as Hugh Latimer who favoured Lutheran or Zwinglian The Six Articles. doctrines like himself; but neither the Ten Articles, nor any other similar declaration which followed it and was known as the 'Bishops' Book,' permitted the teaching of the new doctrines. And in 1539 Henry himself procured from Parliament the 'Act of the Six Articles' which imposed merciless penalties on any one who taught against Transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy (Cranmer himself had married, holding as the English clergy had done of old that marriage of priests was lawful), confession, and other doctrines and practices which the reformers would have liked to do away with.

This was Cromwell's first set-back, for the reformers were his friends, and he was bent on making an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany. That desire wrought his ruin; for it led him The Cleves marriage, 1540. to urge Henry in 1539 to marry a fourth time (Jane Seymour having died when the baby Prince Edward was born) and to take as his bride Anne of Cleves, the sister of a Lutheran prince. Henry, having seen the lady's portrait, consented; but when

she came herself to marry him, his wrath was kindled against the minister who had brought him this 'Flanders mare' for a wife. He married her but at once discovered that she was 'precontracted,' and not therefore his lawful queen. So he parted from his fourth wife; who spent the rest of her life in a comfortable retirement, on a handsome pension, in England.

Cromwell paid the penalty. Henry, possessing now the legal power even of legislation, with the nobles his humble slaves, with the Church Cromwell's under his heel and what was left of its spoils in the fall. treasury, had no more use for the exceedingly unpopular minister whose fall would bring new popularity to the king. In 1540 Cromwell without warning was suddenly arrested at the Council, attainted of treason, condemned under the Treasons Act which he himself had created and used so mercilessly, and was executed. As usual Cranmer, whom the world is wont to call a coward, was the only man who dared to intercede with the angry king for the man who had served him as loyally as Wolsey. But Cranmer was the one man with whom Henry was never angry.

FROM 1539 to the end of the reign, the Reformation was at a standstill. Henry had gone as far as he chose to go; but the Act of the Six Articles, 5. Marking the 'Whip with six strings,' was intended more as a warn- time. ing than for actual use. In 1543 one more 'declaration of belief' like the 'Ten Articles and the Bishops' Book was made by Henry's authority, and was called the King's Book, but it made no real changes. Privately, Cranmer and Latimer and other people with reforming tendencies such as Edward Seymour earl of Hertford (brother of the dead Queen Jane) might think what they liked as long as they kept decently quiet about it. When the other party intrigued for Cranmer's downfall they found that it was not on him but on themselves that the king's anger would descend. They tried providing Henry with a fifth wife out of their own party, the duke of Norfolk's niece Katharine Howard. The choice was unlucky; the discovery of undoubted misconduct on her part sent her to the block like Anne Boleyn, and brought discredit on the whole party. Henry ended by choosing for himself as his sixth spouse the staid and tactful widow of Lord Latimer, Katharine Parr, a lady with Protestant leanings who succeeded in retaining his good graces and actually surviving him.

Matrimonial pursuits, the quarrel with the Papacy, and domestic affairs, had distracted Henry's attention from his foreign ambitions

since 1527. Unlike Wolsey, his feeling of personal rivalry with Francis and his hankerings after warlike fame, had always inclined him to alliance with Charles till his own marriage projects made rift between him and the emperor. Since that time, the

Foreign
affairs.

to European monarchs had gone their own way with very little regard to England; while Henry had shown no great favour to Cromwell's and Cranmer's desire for union with the Lutherans in Germany—Cromwell regarding such an alliance as a useful means of preventing Charles from becoming too friendly with the Pope. The plan finally collapsed with the blunder of the Cleves marriage. Henry's personal quarrel with Charles had lost its point when Katharine of Aragon was dead and the emperor was trying to keep the two parties in Germany balanced so that he might dominate both of them and the Pope as well. When Cromwell was gone, Henry was beginning to lean towards the old alliance with the emperor which was actually renewed in 1543.

Important events were taking place meanwhile in Scotland, but we may pass them by for the moment. Charles and Henry came to a tentative agreement for war on Francis if he refused the de-

A French
war, 1544-6.

mands they made on him, and in 1544 war was declared. The English invaded the north-east of France and captured Boulogne; Charles made his attack further south, and next year made a separate peace, saying that Henry had not acted according to promise. Henry refused to give up Boulogne, so the war went on for another year; peace was made in 1546, Francis engaging to pay up 'indemnities' in the next eight years, during which time the English were to hold Boulogne as a guarantee or security. The pretence at friendship between Charles and Henry had finally broken down, but affairs in Germany were giving Charles so much to do that he left France and England alone to make their own peace.

Now we can turn to Scotland. Henry through most of his reign had been intriguing with one group or another of the Scottish nobles, most of whom were at odds with the churchmen and with the young king who, like so many of his ancestors, was striving to win the Crown's mastery over them. James

Scotland:
Solway
Moss.

was very well aware that Henry had his own ideas for bringing Scotland under English control, and distrusted—with very good reason—all his uncle's pretences of benevolence. His marriage to Mary of Lorraine, sister of the most powerful—and most fiercely 'orthodox'—of the French nobles, the Guises, meant a close alliance between France and Scotland. Between England and Scotland there was constant border

raiding. In 1542 James had gathered a very undisciplined force under a leader whom nobody trusted, to invade the north of England. A much smaller English force surprised and defeated it shamefully at Solway Moss, taking prisoner a number of nobles. The disgrace killed James, but before he was dead a baby was born, who became the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots when she was a week old.

So once more the usual trouble fell upon Scotland—an infant ruler, and a fierce strife of factions whom no one could control. Henry Scots planned that his son Edward should marry the baby queen factions. as soon as they were old enough—the ancient scheme for uniting the crowns. Many Scots, and most of the reformers, were willing enough, but only on condition that Scottish independence should be made secure—which was not at all what Henry meant. Consequently all through the French war English armies were raiding into Scotland; which was the one certain way of making the Scots stop their feuds for a moment in a common refusal to submit to England. It was the old story—Scotland could be harried, but it could not be conquered. But no sooner were the English troops withdrawn than the feuds began again; and in 1546 the game seemed to be in Henry's hands—for Cardinal Beaton, the hated persecutor of Scottish Protestantism but the leader of Scotland's defiance of England, was assassinated. The assassins seized the castle of St. Andrews, and the Scottish Government was at open war with the Scottish Protestants.

But Henry's days were numbered. His heir was a delicate boy not yet ten years old. He had two daughters, both of whom the Judges had declared to be illegitimate, though each had been supposed The suc- to be legitimate at the time of her birth. If the child cession. Edward died unwedded and childless, who would come to the throne? The legal heir by descent was the baby Queen Mary of Scotland, though no Papalist would admit Mary Tudor's illegitimacy. Then there was another Stewart, the countess of Lennox, daughter of Henry's sister Margaret by her second marriage with the earl of Angus; she as well as Queen Mary might be barred as foreigners. Then there was Frances Grey and her children—all girls—the daughter of Henry's younger sister. Six possible claimants after the sickly Edward, and all of them women.

It was hopeless to think of deciding between them by any legal process; therefore the parliament had authorised Henry to fix Henry's Will. the succession by his own Will, and also to ordain how the government was to be carried on during his son's minority. By Henry's

ll, if Edward died without offspring, Mary Tudor was to succeed; if he died without offspring, Elizabeth; then the Greys. The Stewarts were left out of count, though in the ordinary course of law their title was the strongest.

For the government, Henry named a Council of Regency (with the title of Executors, the people responsible for carrying out the instructions of a will). There were to be no violent changes either towards reformation or reaction. So the Council was Henry's last days, 1546-7. evenly balanced between leading men of the two parties. But at the next moment Norfolk and his son Surrey were denounced for a treasonable plot to secure the power for themselves—Surrey's mother was the daughter of the Buckingham who had been executed in 1521, so that the blood royal was in his veins though not in his father's. They were leaders of the opposition to Cranmer, Hertford, and the other reformers. Surrey was beheaded—as he deserved, although he had written pretty poems, which some people have oddly regarded as proof of his innocence and Norfolk's execution was put off. But their fall weakened their authority in the Council of Executors.

And then in January 1547 the disease from which Henry had long been suffering carried him off suddenly. His death saved Norfolk's life. But Edward VI. was king, and his uncle the earl of Hertford—no promptly took the title of duke of Somerset—was named Protector of the Council.

V. Edward VI.: 1547-1553.

Rural Depression—Protector Somerset—Northumberland.

A BOY of nine, whose health was feeble, was king of England. The chances were that the next sovereign would be a woman—just the thing to prevent which (as it is pretended) Henry had married Wolsey to the wolves, quarrelled with Charles, and plunged into a conflict with the Pope which was bound to end either in a humiliating defeat or in turning the country Protestant. To make the thing the more absurd, among the half-dozen women who might succeed, the legitimacy of two was questionable; of these two, if one was legitimate the other could not be; and the title of any one among the rest was open to challenge. Also while Henry had been willing enough to reject the papal authority he had always meant the country to be not Protestant but orthodox.

Meanwhile the government had to be carried on by a Council in

which it very soon became clear that those who favoured Protestant doctrines of some sort would have the upper hand. The boy-king was in the hands of their leader, his uncle, the Protector Somerset, who was hand-in-glove with Cranmer. And the government had before it a task of enormous difficulty.

There was the question of Religion of course. Then there was Scotland, torn between the Clerical party which hated England, clinging to the French alliance, and the Protestant party which turned to England for support. Worse still was the state of unrest and 'economic' depression into which the whole country had fallen.

The causes of this last trouble were complicated. We saw that as far back as Henry VII., though commerce was flourishing and the few Rural people who had the new industries in their hands were depression. prospering, the country districts were getting into a very bad way because the landlords everywhere were turning their demesnes into sheep-runs, since it paid them much better to produce wool than corn. Whereby the number of unemployed agricultural labourers increased year by year. At the same time the men who had got into the new industries resisted what we now call 'dilution' and kept new-comers out, so that these men could not find employment there. Then, besides making sheep-runs of their demesnes, many landlords used every trick of the law to get their tenants' lands into their own hands and add them to the sheep-runs, and also tricks by which the law was really broken, for 'enclosing' as if it had been their own parts of the 'commons' which were not private property at all but the common property of the village—preventing the villagers from feeding their pigs and poultry there, cutting turf and firewood and the like.

Thomas More had written very indignantly about these practices in his famous book called *Utopia*; but they went on. And then after The new the dissolution of the monasteries they became much landlords. worse. For though in the east and in middle England the monks had been little better landlords than their lay neighbours, the monastic lands now went for the most part to new men from the towns who cared only to make the biggest profit they could out of their property and were more rapacious and grasping than the old families or the monasteries—especially in the west where the monks had been popular.

Now unemployment meant low wages; for if one man refused them, there were half a dozen ready to take the job for whatever they could

get, rather than starve (or take to robbery on the highways as numbers of them did). At the same time prices went up, for another reason. Much more gold and silver was coming into Europe than ^{Wages and} there had been before, from the new Spanish dominions ^{prices.} in America, Mexico having been conquered in 1519 and Peru in 1533. The price of a thing means the amount of gold or silver for which you can exchange it. If there is much gold and silver in 'circulation,' that is, passing from one person to another in exchange for goods, more of them will be given in exchange for other goods than if there is only a little; and that is only another way of saying that the more gold and silver there is in circulation the higher prices will be (unless, and this is important, the quantity of the goods for sale increases faster than the amount of money in circulation). Thus, instead of wages being raised to meet the increased cost of living, everything was helping to make it harder and harder to earn enough to live on.

But this change of landlords and increasing unemployment was not the only suffering brought on the agricultural labourers by the dissolution of the monasteries. In the long run it was good for ^{The poor.} them but for the time it was very hard; in this way. The monasteries had kept the poor from downright destitution, by charity; there was no poor-law, no poor-rate, nothing to help people who were penniless except the charity of the monasteries. With the monasteries the charity vanished, and for a man who could get no employment and no wages from anybody, there was nothing left but to steal or to die of starvation. Therefore the country was thick with vagrants, vagabonds, 'sturdy beggars' who preferred stealing to starving; and since stealing was punished with death, the thief often became a murderer in order to escape capture, as the penalty for theft was the same as for murder.

Lastly, Henry had been so extravagant that there was no money left in the treasury in spite of all he had taken from the Church. The government had to spend as little as it could, which would ^{An empty} need clever management. It could get no money except ^{treasury.} by taxation and if it asked parliament for taxes there would be trouble, at least unless parliament approved thoroughly of its policy. There was no money for an army, or to keep up the navy which Henry had made. The country would have to leave foreign affairs severely alone. And the Council of Trent was sitting, and Charles was just then crushing the Protestant League of Schmalkald in a German civil war, which had come at last,

THE Protector's intentions were excellent. What he wished to do was wiser than other men guessed ; but he invariably set about trying to do it in the wrong way, and every one of his projects went to pieces. He wanted King Edward to end the eternal strife between England and Scotland by marrying the little Scots queen. So he led an army into Scotland, to force the anti-English Government to agree, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh, near Edinburgh (1547). But invasions always had the same effect : they turned the whole Scots nation against the invader. Instead of his getting what he wanted, the Scots succeeded in packing Mary off to France, to be brought up at the French court by her mother's Guise kinsmen, and to become some years later the bride not of a king of England but of the dauphin of France.

In religion he wanted what no one else had thought of as possible—Toleration : that is, freedom for every one to believe what he thought true. So he had the laws for the punishment of heresy repealed (1548), and a prayer-book (1549) drawn up in English which every one, outside of Wales and Cornwall where the people still used the Welsh language, could understand ; made with just enough difference from the old Latin service-books for any kind of Protestant as well as for those who rejected the new doctrines to use it without hurting their consciences. To prevent disputes it was ordered that only preachers to whom a licence was given should preach their own sermons ; the rest must use a ' Book of Homilies ' which Cranmer had approved. But the result was that only preachers with Protestant ideas were licensed, and it looked as if the country was going to be made Protestant whether it liked it or not. Worse than this, Somerset's greed made him go on despoiling religious houses and societies of the property still left them in a fashion which religious people called desecration ; and so while Protestants got a liberty they never enjoyed before, he aroused the angry hostility of the other party.

Sympathising with the peasantry, Somerset tried to do them justice by setting up what was called a ' Court of Requests ' (1548) to which they could appeal against unlawful ' enclosures.' But The Court of Requests. because it was an irregular court, the landlords were able to say that it was illegal and tyrannical and so to persuade themselves at least that he had put himself in the wrong and turned law-abiding people against him.

And so came his downfall. For in the east (1549) the peasantry, failing to get redress for their wrongs, rose against the landowners,

though they favoured the Protector's religious 'innovations,' headed by a tanner named Robert Ket. And in the west at the same time, the peasants rose against both the innovations and the landlords, the Cornishmen saying they could not understand the new Church services, and demanding to have the monasteries back. The Council, most of whom had become jealous of the Protector's power and ambition, threw the blame for the risings on the favour Somerset had shown to the peasantry; and it was his chief rival John Dudley, earl of Warwick, who crushed Ket. To add to his troubles, his brother Thomas Seymour had ambitions of his own and plotted to marry the young princess Elizabeth. Unluckily the Protector was induced to get him condemned for treason by an Act of Attainder instead of a regular trial, and so was charged with acting as a tyrant himself.

Fall of
Somerset,
1549.

To crown all, Ket's rebellion had hardly been crushed when France, turning to recover Boulogne, declared war. Neither the naval nor the military forces were in fit order for a foreign war. The Council was tired of Somerset; he was arrested and sent to the Tower; and the control of the government passed into the hands of Warwick (1549) — better known as the duke of Northumberland, the title which he soon afterwards assumed.

NORTHUMBERLAND made up his mind that the sound policy for him was to pose as the champion of the extreme reformers. Somerset had repealed Cromwell's Treasons Act, at the same time as the Acts against heretics; Northumberland revived it, with some alterations, to strengthen his own hands against opponents. A humiliating peace was made with France. Anti-reformation bishops, notably Gardiner, and Bonner bishop of London, with others, were imprisoned, and deprived of their sees which were given to advanced reformers. Attendance at the service of the Mass was forbidden; a second prayer-book of a much more 'advanced' kind was issued in 1552. Along with the first, there had been an 'Act of Uniformity' requiring the clergy to use it; a second Act of Uniformity now imposed penalties on laymen who disobeyed its injunctions. An opportunity was found for procuring sentence of death against Somerset, who was executed and was sincerely mourned by many of the common folk who had truly enough regarded him as a 'friend of the people.'

3. A zealous
reformer,
1549-53.

Northumberland had got the power fairly into his own hands: while the king lived he would keep it. But in 1553 the physicians and

Northumberland knew that Edward was dying. When he should die, the papalist Mary was named by Henry's Will, confirmed by parliament, as heir to the throne, and Northumberland's fall would be assured. He did not mean her to become queen; he had chosen as Edward's successor neither her nor her strong-willed half-sister Elizabeth, but the gentle young Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Frances Grey whose husband was now duke of Suffolk and Northumberland's very good friend. The girl was married to his own son, Guildford Dudley; counting both Mary and Elizabeth as illegitimate, and setting aside all Stewart claims, she would have a good title. To get over Henry's Will, he persuaded Edward to make a Will on his own account, declaring Jane his successor. Northumberland got the Council together; all the troops in London were under the command of officers on whose support he could reckon—for the moment. Willingly or unwillingly, the members of the Council added their signatures to the Will; what the country would say to it was another matter.

On 6th July Edward was dead. For a day or two his death was concealed from the public, while Northumberland was arranging for the proclamation of Queen Jane.

VI. Mary : 1553-1558.

The New Queen—The Persecution—The Close.

NORTHUMBERLAND'S plot, had he but known it, was doomed to failure from the beginning. He had no whole-hearted supporters except some of the advanced Protestants who thought more of the triumph of their own form of religion than of the victory of illegal violence. The country had long ago made up its mind that the question of the succession was not an open one; it had been settled by Henry's Will, which had been first authorised and then confirmed by parliament. Northumberland's troops in London gave him command there, and control over the Council—as had happened when the Protector Richard of Gloucester seized the crown in 1483—but outside London every one (and inside it all popular feeling) was against him. Mary was out of his reach—she had heard of Edward's death in time to escape to safe quarters. Lady Jane Grey, surrounded by lawyers, nobles, and bishops who all told her that she was lawful queen and must not refuse the crown, yielded reluctantly; but when she was

proclaimed queen at Paul's Cross according to custom—on 10th July—the assembled crowds listened in silence. Northumberland's sons were sent with troops to capture Mary; but the troops declared for her as queen, and the young Dudleys had to flee for their lives. The duke—he could trust no one else—marched with the rest of the forces from London; the Council, who had been really his prisoners in the Tower, promptly came out and proclaimed Queen Mary. The duke saw that the game was up, and surrendered. Had he not done so, his men would have given him up.

He, and no more than two of his fellow-conspirators, were sent to the block. The poor little 'nine-days' queen, her husband, and a few more were confined in the Tower. Even her father, Suffolk, was Mary's left free. Never had a rebellion been so leniently dealt leniency. With. All but one (Ridley) of the reforming bishops were given ample opportunity for escape, though none of them took it. Every one knew that Mary was a fervent Papalist, but she announced that no changes should be made except by due course of law; though she released and restored to their sees the bishops whom Northumberland had deprived and imprisoned, and made Gardiner her chancellor. Latimer and Cranmer were arrested, as sharing in the guilt of the rebellion, but not all some weeks had passed.

But Charles v. was willing and Mary was resolved that she should marry his son Philip, the Crown Prince of Spain; a match which every one feared, Protestants because the prince was a fanatical Catholic, and patriots of every kind because of the danger Wyatt's rebellion, 1554. lest such a union would make England a province of Spain—much as Scottish patriots had feared that the marriage of Edward vi. to their queen would make Scotland a province of England. Also when parliament was summoned in October it repealed all the religious laws made in the last reign.

So when the marriage treaty was actually signed in January 1554, the alarm took shape in an insurrection headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt—to prevent the marriage, to safeguard Protestantism, and to put Elizabeth (who may have guessed much but was careful to know nothing) on the throne in place of Mary. But Mary's courage rallied the Londoners to her support; Wyatt's troops were cut to pieces and he was taken prisoner. The leniency shown six months before could not be repeated. Lady Jane, her husband, and her father were sent to the block as well as Wyatt, and some hundred of the rebels were hanged. Elizabeth was confined in the Tower for some weeks and was

then released, though she remained under watch and an object of suspicion all through her sister's reign.

In summer Philip came over and married Mary. The queen was eager not only to restore religion as it had been under her father, but The Spanish for a complete reconciliation with the Papacy; the unmarriage. popularity however of the Spanish marriage made it necessary to move slowly. In spite of all the statutes, she had asked to have her cousin Cardinal Pole sent to England as papal legate, in order that the wandering sheep might be taken back into the fold.

POLE arrived in November, and was received by a parliament which was ready to go much farther along the path desired by Mary than her first or her second parliament which had met in the summer. Gardiner and the other anti-reform bishops had been vigorous supporters of Henry in his conflict with the Pope, but they had at last realised that if the country was not to become definitely Protestant it must be driven or shepherded back to the Papalism they had at first rejected. The new parliament made formal submission, and at last revived all the former laws against heretics, though there was one thing it would not listen to—the restoration of the lands and wealth that had been taken from the Church.

With the new year (1555) the 'Marian persecution' began. Mary had held her hand until she could act with the full authority of parliament. Without pressure from her, parliament would probably have continued disinclined to sanction an actual persecution, but it was too indifferent to resist her wish. The reproach lies upon it and upon the Council no less than on the queen, for the Spaniards—though they were and are often accused of having urged her on—did in fact discourage her. But Mary had a conscience which, unlike her father's, drove her upon a course which caused her deep pain. She was convinced that it was her duty to save the souls of her people, whatever the suffering it brought to them or to her in this mortal life; better that the bodies of some few, even hundreds, should burn, if thereby thousands should be saved from everlasting flames. She loved her people. Happiness for herself she never sought or found. Of all the Tudors she was the only one who was naturally generous, daring to pardon not for the sake of policy but for the love of mercy. But in this one thing she showed no mercy, hardening her heart because she deemed it her cruel duty.

And the effect of it all was the exact opposite of what Mary desired. There were zealous Protestants in the country when the persecution began, and zealous believers in the old creeds; the majority did not greatly care one way or the other, and were willing enough to conform to whatever was ordained by their rulers. But the martyrdoms excited a sympathy for the victims, an admiration for the faith which gave to old men and young lads and tender women such power of heroic endurance as they displayed, and a horror of the cruelty of it all which made two-thirds of the country passionately Protestant, at least so far as concerned hatred of the Pope and everything that savoured of popery.

Its effect.

For the first year a large proportion of those who were sent to the stake were persons of mark. As Cromwell had struck at More and Fisher, at the Carthusians, at the most revered of abbots and priors, so the policy of persecution was directed chiefly against the most energetic or the most saintly of the leaders of the Protestant movement among the clergy—for the laymen of note made haste to conform outwardly to the new orders. Four bishops, Cooper and Ferrar, Ridley and brave old Hugh Latimer, headed the roll: Cranmer's death, though he was in prison, was put off till more than a twelvemonth had passed. In three years and a half there were some three hundred martyrdoms; recantation would have saved the life of every one of the martyrs except the archbishop, who actually broke down under the long strain and recanted, but only to recall his recantation and face the flames as firmly as any one. After the first year there were no others of note; but there was never any prolonged lull in the long and terrible series. There have been other persecutions in England, but those who died at the stake in all the rest of them put together were far fewer than the sufferers in Mary's reign; and in her persecutions the plea always was not that of religious heresy but political disaffection—the plea on which Roman emperors and governors had persecuted the early Christians. After Mary's reign there were many who died for conscience' sake at one time or another, but they perished in prison or on the gallows as traitors or rebels, not at the stake as heretics; and their dying like common felons did not strike horror into the people's imagination like the flames and faggots of Smithfield.

The martyrs.

THE burnings were only the most tragic part of a time which was full of tragedies and troubles and disasters. The queen's marriage brought

her no happiness; for her husband, who was years younger than herself, avoided her, and though she was always expecting to have a child

3. Failure. none was ever born. Really, though she did not know it, she was suffering from a mortal disease which actually killed her when she had been reigning for a little over six years, just when she was beginning to understand that she had failed to bring back her people to her own faith, that all she had been striving for would be done away with by her successor, and that she had brought on herself the hate of the England she loved.

And the marriage also brought on the country just what the people had feared. In 1555 Charles v. made Philip sovereign of the Netherlands; in 1556 he resigned the crowns of Spain and of the empire. Germany elected his brother Ferdinand of Austria emperor in his place, rejecting Philip whom it regarded as no German but a Spaniard. But Mary's husband became Philip II., king of Spain and the Sicilies, and lord of the New World on the other side of the Atlantic. When Philip went to war with France, England was dragged into the conflict as Philip's ally. Navy and army had been going from bad to worse for nearly ten years; there was no money, and the Government could not even borrow. At the end of 1557 the duke of Guise suddenly

Calais, 1558. attacked Calais which England had held for two hundred

and ten years; at the New Year Calais fell. The one possession which still bore witness to her prowess in ancient wars was gone. 'When I am dead,' said the unhappy queen, 'you will find *Calais* written on my heart.'

Just after the fall of Calais Mary Queen of Scots, being fifteen years old, was married to the young French dauphin Francis. When his father died, she would be queen of France and of Scotland
Mary Stewart. —the Scots crown would be united to that of France, not of England. That meant that it was of the greatest importance to Spain to make sure that on Mary's death—which could not be far off—Elizabeth should succeed her; since not only many English papalists but also the French would do everything in their power to make Mary Stewart the successor of Mary Tudor, on the ground that Elizabeth was illegitimate, and to unite the three kingdoms under one queen. Which things Elizabeth and her private counsellor William Cecil understood very well. Spain, however little she might like it, was bound to give Elizabeth her support, and to do it with at least the appearance of goodwill.

And meanwhile for ten years past, England had left Scotland alone.

otland's young queen was in France ; but her mother Mary of Guise was acting as regent, and the regent was holding down the Scottish protestants only by the help of French troops—which was **The end.** making the Scots feel that their freedom was as much in danger from the French alliance as from their old enemies in England. Therefore when Mary Tudor died in November 1558, there was a stormy outlook for the exceedingly clever young woman who, despite her doubtful legitimacy, was forthwith proclaimed Elizabeth, queen of England. But she knew that with a cool head and a firm hand she was in a far stronger position than the Spaniard, who dreamed that she could take her orders submissively from him, would allow himself to realise.

CHRONOLOGY

1521-1558.

ENGLAND

- 1521. Buckingham executed.
- 1522-26. A French War.
- 1527. The Divorce question.
- 1529. The Divorce trial. Fall of Wolsey. Reformation Parliament meets.
- 1531. Henry VIII. 'Supreme Head.'
- 1532. 'Submission of the Clergy.'
- 1533. Divorce of Katharine.
- 1534. Acts of Succession and Supremacy, and Treasons Act.
- 1535. Cromwell, Vicar-General.
- 1536. Pilgrimage of Grace.
- 1539. Dissolution of Greater Monasteries. Six Articles, and Royal Proclamations Act.
- 1540. Fall of Cromwell.

SCOTLAND AND EUROPE.

- 1521. Diet of Worms.
- 1523. Clement VII., Pope.
- 1525. Battle of Pavia.
- 1526. Diet of Spires.
- 1529. Protest of Spires.
- 1530. Schmalkaldic League.
- 1533. Pizarro conquers Peru.
- 1536. Calvin in Geneva.
- 1540. Order of Jesuits constituted.

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| 1542. Battle of Solway Moss. | 1542. <i>Mary Queen of Scots.</i>
<i>Regency nineteen years.</i> |
| 1544-46. A French War. | 1545. Council of Trent meets. |
| 1547-53. EDWARD VI. | 1546. Schmalkaldic War. |
| 1547-49. Protector Somerset. | 1547. <i>Battle of Pinkie.</i>
Henry II., king of France. |
| 1549. Western Rising, and
Ket's Rebellion. | |
| 1549-53. Northumberland's Reformation. | 1552. Defeat of Charles v. by
German Protestants. |
| 1553-58. QUEEN MARY. | |
| 1553. Lady Jane Grey. | |
| 1554. Wyatt's Rebellion.
Spanish Marriage.
Reconciliation with
Rome. | 1555. Pacification of Augsburg. |
| 1555-58. The Marian Persecution. | 1556. Charles v. abdicates.
Philip II. king of Spain.
Ferdinand I. emperor. |
| 1556. Cranmer burnt. | |
| 1558. Loss of Calais. | |

EARLIER TUDOR STATUTES: 1520-1558.

THE clergy, 1531, are required in Convocation to recognise the king as the 'Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and the clergy in England so far as the law of Christ permit.' This becomes a statute as the **Act of Supremacy**.

The **Annates Act**, 1532, deprives the Pope of the fees consisting of the first year's income, hitherto paid to him by the clergy on acceptance of any of the higher clerical appointments.

The **Act in Restraint of Appeals**, 1534, finally affirms the illegality of all appeals to the jurisdiction of the Pope.

The **Act of Supremacy**, 1534, makes the king Supreme Head of the Church by statute.

The **Treasons Act**, 1534, makes words, and even silence under suspicious circumstances, treason, as well as positive actions.

The **Six Articles**, 1539, impose severe penalties for denying six leading doctrines of the Church of Rome which had been challenged by the reformers. This Act was repealed in the next reign; but Henry VIII. refused to sanction any departure from the recognised doctrines of the Roman Church.

The **Royal Proclamations Act**, 1539, gives to proclamations of Henry VIII. (but not of his successors) the legal force of an Act of Parliament.

The First **Act of Uniformity**, 1549, requires all the clergy to employ only the forms of service in the First English Prayer-book. The Second, 1552, put the Second Prayer-book in the place of the First, and punished laymen as well, if they failed to attend these services or attended others.

FREE SPEECH

IN modern times we claim Free Speech as a right to which every one is entitled. Every one has the right of saying what he thinks and criticising the Government at least so long as the things he says are not likely to bring about violent law-breaking or personal injury to his neighbours. In the sixteenth century—and before it—the public had no such right. Any criticism of the Government carried with it the risk of punishment for Treason, and any expression of questionable religious opinions the risk of punishment for Heresy. But free speech was a privilege claimed by Parliament; that is, Parliament always asserted that its members had a right to say—in Parliament though not outside—anything they chose, without risk of punishment by the king or the king's courts. What a member said outside was another matter—it was not 'privileged,' and he might be punished for it like any one else. What was said inside, no one outside (especially the king) was supposed to know; the Commons refused to debate a question of supply in the presence of Wolsey who was not one of their members. If what a member said in the House of Commons was, in the opinion of the House, improper, the House itself might punish him if it chose; but no one else might. Free speech was not a popular right but a privilege of Parliament.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH: 1558-1603.

I. Europe: 1556-1598.

Spain, the Empire, and the Netherlands—France—The Papacy and the Jesuits.

ELIZABETH came to the throne of England in November 1558: she died in March 1603. In 1556 Philip II. became king of Spain as well as lord of the Netherlands, on the abdication of his father; and he died in 1598. From the English point of view, the story of her reign is to a great extent that of a long conflict between England and Spain, which nevertheless did not become open war till nearly thirty years had passed after the accession of the two monarchs.

Spain was the only foreign foe against whom England had actually to draw the sword, though Englishmen took part as volunteers in the wars which were going on in other countries, and England was for a few weeks in armed alliance with the Scottish Protestant party against what was really a French government in that country. France, almost throughout the period, was torn by the 'wars of religion,' the civil wars between Catholics and Huguenots, as the French (Calvinistic) Protestants were called. Year after year Philip put off open war with England because he wished first to crush the rebellion of the Netherlands against Spanish rule. The Netherlands fought so stubbornly that they were still unconquered when he resolved at last to postpone the destruction of England no longer. The attempt wrecked the power not of England but of Spain, and ensured his own final defeat in the Netherlands, though the struggle of the Dutch Republic for independence was not yet over when he died.

Now all this is a great change from the rivalries and hostilities of the first half of the century; and one reason of it is that we no longer have one man wearing the Imperial and the Spanish crowns. The vast inheritance which had come to Charles is now parted between his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand, whose descendants are to follow each other as emperors without a

break for nearly two centuries. The end of Charles's reign had been for him a period of defeat. He, at the time of Henry VIII.'s death, was on the point of crushing the Lutheran princes of the German Schmaldedic League, and for some five years he imagined that he had really made himself master of Germany as no emperor before him had succeeded in doing since the ancient days of Barbarossa. But in 1552 the craft and skill of Duke Maurice of Saxony suddenly broke up his supporters. The tact and shrewdness of his brother Ferdinand procured the 'Pacification of Passau' and the 'Peace of Augsburg,' which gave Germany a rest from the religious struggle for more than half a century, through the general acceptance of the old principle that the form of religion followed in each German state should be that which its own prince chose. And it became the business of Ferdinand and his sons to preserve that peace in Germany and avoid mixing themselves up with their Spanish kinsman's ambitions. Germany has no more interest in the rivalry of Spain and France or in the affairs of her Dutch and Flemish kinsmen—the Netherlands have passed, almost but not quite solidly, out of the Imperial into the Spanish dominions.

The next point to remark is that the Council of Trent closed in 1563. The Roman Catholic Church, the Church which recognised the papal supremacy, had defined its doctrines. All Churches which rejected any detail of those doctrines were outside the pale. It denied to them the title of Catholic whether they claimed it for themselves or not. Presently the popes went on to lay it down that 'Catholic' subjects owed no allegiance to a 'heretic' sovereign, and that it was in fact their duty to remove such sovereigns at the first opportunity, as it was also the duty of Catholic sovereigns to put down heresy among their subjects to the utmost of their power. And that view was adopted fanatically by Philip, in the very widest sense. He came to regard himself as an instrument in the hands of the Almighty not only for the crushing of heresy in his own dominions but for uprooting it in the dominions of his neighbours—though it might be expedient to work by plots and intrigues rather than by making war on them. Philip in his own eyes was the Sword of the Church, as the emperor had been according to mediaeval ideas.

Philip had no difficulty in Spain or in Italy where the ideas of the reformers never spread. But in the northern Netherlands (now Holland), though not so much in what is now Belgium, the doctrines of Calvin were deeply rooted, and the people were ready to fight for their faith to the last. But besides this Philip

Catholics
and Pro-
testants.

The Low
Countries.

was bent on ruling Flemings and Hollanders as though their country was a province of Spain, regardless of the rights and the customs which Nobles and Commons had enjoyed under the sovereignty of the old dukes of Burgundy. Catholics as well as Protestants found that their liberties were at stake; and so in the Low Countries Philip was faced with a double struggle, political as well as religious. In that struggle England could not but be keenly interested, both from sympathy with the victims of a religious persecution infinitely more cruel than that of Mary, and from the importance to her of being on friendly terms with the best customers for her commerce—whose ports, under control of an enemy, would be a constant menace to her own security.

WHEN we turn to France, we find a country where the king's Court and the Government were zealous on the Catholic side but many of

2. France. the great nobles had taken the Huguenot side. The leaders of the Catholic faction were the duke of Guise and his brothers, the uncles of Mary Stewart. In 1559 the king Henry II. was accidentally killed in a tournament; his son Francis II., Mary's young husband, died after reigning a few months, and his younger brother Charles IX. became king (1560). But from that time the ruler of the country was the king's mother, Catherine de' Medici.

Now it was Catherine's main aim to keep the power in her own hands. For religion itself she cared little; yet religion was the question on which the country was split into two camps, almost equal Catholics and Huguenots. in strength though the Catholics were much more numerous and in Paris overwhelmingly so. Her design then was to keep power herself by holding the balance between the two parties or playing them off against each other. The most powerful of the nobles were the Catholic Guises, but the Huguenots were headed by the Bourbon Antony of Navarre (which was still called a kingdom though there were only a few square miles of it) and his brother Condé. If Catherine's three boys should all die childless a Bourbon by the Salic Law of France would succeed to the throne, though the last king who had been an ancestor of theirs was Louis IX., back in the thirteenth century. Catherine did not want either Guise or Bourbon to become strong enough to oust her from power—though she was not strong enough herself to control either.

Thrice between 1560 and 1570 the two parties were at each other's throats and thrice Catherine brought about a pacification. Then Catherine, frightened at the growing influence of the Huguenot

Admiral Coligny, threw herself into the hands of the Guises and planned with them the terrible Paris Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). The very enormity of it carried moderate men over to the Huguenot side, and for some years to come France, like England, was constantly dallying with the idea of vigorously taking up the cause of the Netherlands Protestants against Spain. But Charles IX. died soon after the massacre; his brother Henry III. hated equally Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre (who had succeeded his father Antony as head of the Huguenots) the heir to the throne; a sort of triangular war broke out, which is called the War of the Three Henries; at the end of it the king got Guise assassinated and was then assassinated himself (1589). Then for some years more Henry IV. was fighting for his crown, supported by Huguenots and resisted by Catholics. He secured it at last by turning Catholic—making the cynical remark that ‘the Crown of France was worth a Mass’—while remaining loyal to his Huguenot friends, though not to their faith; for which he ensured them toleration by the Edict of Nantes (1598). In this last war, Philip had aided the Guise party, on the principle that no heretic could lawfully be a king.

We have seen that the Council of Trent made the final cleavage between Catholic (in the popular though not in the strict sense) and Protestant. All Churches which claim that in the ordination of their ministry they have retained the ‘apostolic succession’ by the ‘laying on of hands’ claim also that they no less than the Church of Rome are of the Church Catholic, but all (sometimes to their great displeasure) are popularly included under the title Protestant if they reject the papal authority; except the Greek Church which had regarded Rome as ‘schismatic,’ and Christian communities which had existed from early times in Asia. Acceptance of the authority of the Pope, the Mass, and of the doctrine of Transubstantiation are generally looked upon as the decisive tests, though the ‘Catholic’ French monarchy continued to claim a larger authority in Church matters than was allowed by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

But before the Council of Trent a new force was coming into play on the papalist side. Such Papalists as More and Fisher in England and many others elsewhere were as thoroughly conscious as any Calvinist or Lutheran that an immense moral reformation in the Church was necessary. The popes who ruled while the Council of Trent was going on were themselves zealous reformers of this

St. Bar-
tholomew
and after.

3. The Coun-
cil of Trent.

The Order
of Jesus.

kind ; and most notable among them was the Spanish knight Ignatius Loyola who founded the mighty Order of the Jesuits, the ' Society of Jesus.' The fire of religious zeal was kindled in him when he was lying sick of a grievous wound, and when he recovered he devoted his life to working out the new idea which had come to him.

This was, to form in the service of the Church a society under discipline modelled on that of an army in which every man gives instant, utter, and unquestioning obedience to his superior officer. The head of the Order was a ' General ' ; it was to fight in the Holy Cause with the sword of the Spirit, not of the Flesh. Its members were to welcome martyrdom as the most glorious end to their labours, if they might be deemed worthy of it. They were to devote themselves body and soul to the Cause.

But they were also to fight scientifically, not relying only on zeal, courage, and obedience. They were to be equipped with no less learning and knowledge than their worldly adversaries. They were to be trained to the highest point in the arts of discussion and persuasion ; their education must be the most complete possible ; they must have all the ' wisdom of the serpent,' its silence and suddenness of action which can only be learnt by severe training.

The Society was created by men with noble ideals ; no one perhaps has more thoroughly deserved the title of Saint than one of them, François Xavier. Their work in the mission-field agency. throughout the world was for centuries unrivalled. But in Europe it was not against the false gods of heathendom that the Society set itself to fight ; it was soon absorbed in pursuit of the old ideal of making the Church supreme, the ideal of Gregory VII. and of Innocent III. The Church was not of this or that nation ; the Jesuits were not of this or that nation ; their business was to make the Church rule all nations. They became a vast political agency whose first object was necessarily the overthrow of all secular powers which opposed the supremacy of the Church. And, though they never admitted it, they adopted the practical working rule which is perhaps the deadliest of all moral poisons, that ' the end justifies the means,' that it is right to do a thing which is in itself wrong in the belief that good will result from it, to ' do evil that good may come.' For two hundred years the Society was a power in Europe whose influence no one can measure, since while it wrought openly it also worked still more beneath the surface, secretly. Its hand was felt, or suspected, in every political plot which had a Catholic source. And against no

in the sixteenth century was the zeal of the Jesuits directed more vigorously than the obstinately heretical queen of England.

II. Elizabeth and Philip (i) : 1558-1579.

Restoring Confidence—Treaty of Leith—Mary Stewart in Scotland, 1561-8—Mary in England, 1568-9—Philip, 1568-9—Storms, 1570-2—A Lull, 1572-9.

Acts of Parliament made with assent of the reigning king could lawfully fix or change the order of succession to the throne, there was no doubt at all that Elizabeth was lawful queen of England. But if the right of succession goes by an unalterable law of descent which kings or parliaments cannot touch—if it is a matter of Divine Right—then every Papalist, being bound to believe that Elizabeth was illegitimate, must also regard Mary Stewart as the lawful queen. Elizabeth, whatever her creed might be, was bound either to profess Protestantism or to admit her own illegitimacy; Papalists who believed in Divine Right were in any case bound to regard her as a usurper. Therefore as long as Mary lived it was certain that some Papalists would seek to put her on the throne in Elizabeth's place. And Mary's connection with France would keep the French Government on her side. But because of her connection with France, Philip of Spain, however much he might desire to see a Catholic on the throne of England, could not wish to see Mary in that position. Those are the facts which give the key to Elizabeth's policy throughout the first years of her reign. Philip could not afford to see her turned off the throne that Mary might take her place. Therefore she could afford to disregard any attempts he might make to bully her.

Her right to the succession was not challenged. Nine-tenths of the country did not want Mary at any price, taking for granted that she would be a tool in the hands of her French husband. The religious settlement Elizabeth must make sure of having her Protestant subjects solidly at her back, and of keeping moderate Catholics so far satisfied that they would not be drawn over to support her Catholic rival's claims. That was at the bottom of the religious settlement which it was her first business to make. She restored the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. with little change, with the Thirty-nine Articles (originally Forty-two) setting forth the doctrines of the Church in language which shut out belief in Transubstantiation but otherwise could be taken as allowing, though not always enforcing, what most

Catholics at one end or most Calvinists at the other regarded as 'fundamental' or 'essential.' The intention was to admit the largest variations of creed and practice which could be included under one set of rules—to make the religion 'as by law established' as 'comprehensive' as possible. But these rules every one was, by an 'Act of Uniformity,' bound to obey or to pay penalties of some sort. There was no freedom for men to follow their own consciences outside of them. The system of Church government under bishops appointed by the Crown remained as before : though new bishops had to be made because so many of Mary Tudor's bishops refused obedience. The settlement was one with which most of the country was content. As long as people openly obeyed the rules, they might think what they chose. Elizabeth knew that governments can control men's actions and sometimes their professions of belief, but not what they believe in their hearts.

The other pressing need was to put on a sound footing the money questions which had been so troublesome for the last twenty years.

Finance. By practising a rigid economy, spending nothing which was not absolutely necessary, putting in charge of the treasury men who were skilled in money matters and also thoroughly honest, and paying debts punctually, Elizabeth's government soon proved that its good faith was to be trusted, and found in consequence that when it did need to borrow it could do so without difficulty. But of this and kindred matters we shall have something to say later.

Through half Elizabeth's reign there was always present a question which vexed the minds of her ministers, her people, and every court in Europe—whom would she marry? Probably she had

Suitors. resolved from the beginning that she would never marry at all. A marriage with any foreign prince would fetter the freedom of England in its foreign policy ; a marriage with any English nobleman would rouse jealousies and might create disloyalty ; but as long as she was unmarried, she could make her hand and the partnership in the crown of England a matter of diplomatic bargaining which could always be broken off at the last moment on one pretext or another—when it would no longer serve any political purpose to keep the suitor dangling. But the first suitor was out of the question and was promptly rejected.

This was Philip himself. It struck him that if he married her as he had married her half-sister, England would be at his beck and call. But Elizabeth and her counsellor Cecil had other views ; and if Elizabeth admitted that she could lawfully be

married to her sister's widower under a papal Dispensation, she would also have to admit that her father was a lawfully married man at the time when he took her mother to wife. So Philip's offer was politely rejected, and he proceeded without delay to marry a French princess instead. His rejection of course had nothing whatever to do with the hostility which grew up gradually between England and Spain. That was due to English Protestantism and the English mariners—as we shall presently see.

For the first ten years of the reign, Scotland demands close attention. At the moment of Elizabeth's accession, the Scots queen Mary—who was not yet sixteen—was in France, where she had just married the dauphin Francis. In Scotland the regent, her mother Mary of Lorraine (or Guise), supported partly by Scots Catholics and partly by French troops, was on the verge of a war with the Protestant nobles who called themselves the 'Lords of the Congregation,' while they were supported by the Protestant preachers headed by John Knox) and most of the population of the Lowlands who had adopted the Calvinistic creed with fervour.

The victory of the regent would mean the establishment of a French and Catholic control in Scotland under a queen whose title to the English throne many people regarded as being much stronger than Elizabeth's own. The Scots Protestants sought help from England, and Scottish patriotism was now fighting for independence not of English but of French control—a danger which had never presented itself in the old days. Still it was only under pressure from Cecil that Elizabeth 'allowed' English troops to go to the help of the Lords of the Congregation, and a squadron of English ships to guard the Forth against the arrival of French reinforcements. If anything awkward happened, generals and admirals must understand that they were acting without orders from her and (if necessary) in defiance of her orders. That was Elizabeth's way—she wanted the thing done, but always wanted to be able to protest loudly that it was not she who had done it.

The result was satisfactory. French reinforcements did not arrive; the regent's forces were closely shut up; the regent died; her party was forced to surrender and make the 'Treaty of Leith' by which all French troops were withdrawn from the country and the government passed into the hands of the Lords of the Congregation headed by Lord James Stewart, Mary's (illegitimate)

2. Scotland.

England intervenes.

Treaty of Leith, 1560.

half-brother, and the Protestant preachers headed by John Knox (1560).

Meanwhile Mary's husband had become king and she herself queen of France. But very soon after the signing of the treaty, Francis died: his young brother, a boy of ten, became king: Mary was no longer queen of France, whose real ruler was now the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici; and Catherine did not love the Guises or Mary. In the summer of 1561 Mary left France for ever, to take upon her head the burden of the Scottish crown.

SHE came from a land of luxury, sunshine, and gaiety to a land of poverty, cloudy skies and bitter winds, where the pleasant things of

life were accounted as snares of the Devil, and the faith in which she had been brought up was fervently denounced from every pulpit as idolatry: a foreign land where there were no friends to welcome her except a stern half-brother, whose will was to be just, but who was wholly without sympathy for her French ideas and ways; ways for which she, who had been the idolised queen of France, was rated like a naughty schoolgirl by grim John Knox. It was a cruel ordeal for a lovely high-spirited girl of eighteen to face. And over the Border was her extremely jealous cousin Elizabeth, nine years her senior, professing the utmost goodwill but anxious above everything to keep her as friendless as possible—and especially to prevent the youthful widow from making a marriage which would strengthen her position. And Mary had to fight her battle single-handed, without a friend whom she could trust or any weapon but her beauty, her quick wit, and her indomitable courage. *

She played her game skilfully enough till she made in 1565 what proved to be the fatal error of marrying her handsome cousin Henry The Darnley Stewart, Lord Darnley, who like Mary herself was the marriage, grandchild of Henry VIII.'s sister Margaret, but by her 1565. second marriage with the earl of Angus—Darnley stood next after Mary in the line of succession to the throne of England, and he too was a Catholic. The move was a clever one; it would have strengthened Mary's position considerably if Darnley had possessed common intelligence. But unfortunately he had neither brains nor character, and his extravagant jealousy made him the easy tool of cleverer men than himself. The real tragedy of Mary's career began with the Darnley marriage.

The one person who really enjoyed Mary's confidence was her

Italian secretary David Rizzio, whom the Scots lords hated as a foreigner and an interloper. Darnley became furiously jealous; he was readily drawn into a plot by a party among the nobles; one day the conspirators burst into the queen's apartments in Holyrood Palace, dragged the unhappy secretary away, and butchered him almost on the threshold of the room (1566). From that hour Mary hated her husband. Rizzio, 1566.

And now we come into a region of puzzles unsolved, though many people offer flatly contradictory solutions of them with perfect confidence. The lords had not murdered Rizzio for love of Kirk o' Field, Darnley, but chiefly to create an irreconcilable quarrel between him and the queen. Yet after some months, and the birth of an heir to the throne, there was an apparent reconciliation. Darnley had gone near to dying of small-pox which was a terrible plague in those days. Mary took him under her care; she was to nurse him back to health, in a house near Edinburgh, called Kirk o' Field (1567). One night the marriage festivities of a Maid of Honour were to be celebrated at Holyrood; they were to be honoured by the presence of the queen and her ladies. Darnley was left with few attendants at Kirk o' Field. That night the house was blown up, and in the morning Darnley's body was found, bearing no marks of violence, in a field hard by. There is no doubt at all that the thing had been done by a noble who was a professed Protestant, the earl of Bothwell, who captured the queen herself and carried her off. Was Mary in the plot? It is difficult to doubt it, but it has never been conclusively proved. At the time a sort of trial was held in Edinburgh, and Bothwell was acquitted because the court did not dare or did not choose to condemn him, though his guilt was certain. But Mary then committed the second and worst blunder in her career. She married the murderer. What the whole world judged from that it is needless to say.

The murder was used for Mary's overthrow. The nobles joined in a band or league against her and Bothwell, though some of them had been his fellow-conspirators. The marriage had not come into their calculation. At Carberry Hill (June) the few royalist troops were routed; Bothwell escaped and fled the country, but Mary was taken prisoner. She was shut up in Lochleven Castle, and compelled to abdicate in favour of her infant son who was proclaimed king as James VI. Moray (Lord James Stewart) was made regent on the child's behalf. Deposition.

In May (1568) Mary escaped from her confinement. A few stubborn

loyalists rallied to her, but a few days saw the end of the contest. The
 Langside, little force was routed at Langside. With a tiny escort,
 1568. Mary rode hard for the Border, crossed the Tweed, and
 threw herself on the protection of 'her loving sister of England.'

MARY's arrival in England was awkward for Elizabeth. She did not
 want to put Mary back on the throne of Scotland; or to send her back
 and leave her to the mercy of her rebellious subjects—she
 4. Mary in England, would never allow it to be said that she countenanced
 1568. rebellion against a lawful sovereign. She did not want
 to receive at her own court the woman whom the world at large believed
 to be guilty of her husband's murder. Least of all was she willing to
 let her pass through England to France and procure her restoration by
 French aid. Mary's death would be the most convenient solution,
 but there was no possible pretext for it. There was only one way left—
 to keep her in England, under guard—if an excuse for doing so could be
 invented.

Elizabeth's ingenuity was equal to the difficulty. She must clear
 Mary's character in the eyes of the world before she could treat her as
 A com- a sister-sovereign; she could not condemn the rebels un-
 mission. heard. She would hold a commission, before which they
 might justify themselves if they could, and if they failed Mary's
 innocence would be established. Meanwhile Mary should enjoy her
 protection—which would be a fair cloak for strict and far from hospitable
 supervision. The Scots lords had no objection to a public inquiry,
 guessing what would probably happen. The commission was held;
 the lords produced their evidence against Mary, whether genuine or
 otherwise; if it was genuine, Mary was steeped in guilt. But when the
 case against her had been made known to the world the commission was
 suspended, without giving her an opportunity of producing her own
 evidence or challenging that of her accusers. The world was more con-
 vinced of her guilt than ever, which was just what Elizabeth wanted.
 But she did not want it proved, and it was not proved. Mary as a
 prisoner might be dangerous but would certainly be useful; and a
 prisoner she remained.

The danger became evident at once. The north was largely Catholic.
 Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, was the head of the Catholic nobility.
 The northern and the Howards were great among the Border Houses.
 earls, 1569. The north had never been at ease since the Pilgrimage of
 Grace. In 1569 the northern earls, Westmorland and Northumberland,

ese : the idea was, to set the Catholic Mary on the throne, annul her marriage with Bothwell, and marry her to Norfolk—who had been a member of the commission, but was willing to take that risk, though he did not actually join the rising. It was crushed—the last belated effort of the old feudalism to assert itself. As a matter of course the world believed that Mary was in the conspiracy, which gave Elizabeth fresh hold on her. But Elizabeth did not want her guilt to be proved or disproved ; or Norfolk's. The rebels who had been in arms were harshly punished, but there the matter stopped—except that Mary's confinement was made closer and more irksome.

ALL this time Elizabeth and Philip were professing to be on quite friendly terms, though she and Cecil could neither be frightened norajoled into following the path he would have chosen for them. They knew that they were still safe from any attack by Spain, and that Philip would not really help Mary because all her sympathies were French. No one knew what was going to happen in France where the second truce between Catholics and Huguenots had just been patched up. Among Protestants everywhere, however, there was a common belief that Catherine was plotting with Philip for a general suppression of Protestantism. The Netherlands had not broken into open revolt but were in a state of great unrest when Philip sent the duke of Alva there as governor in 1567, while French Catholics and Huguenots were still engaged in their second fight. But Alva's rule was so stupidly brutal that an insurrection broke out in 1568. Alva stamped it out mercilessly and redoubled his brutalities ; but by so doing he was unconsciously manufacturing not an insurrection but a revolution. Though he seemed to have got the whole country under his iron heel, he was working by pure terrorism ; so that Philip had neither money nor soldiers to spare for interfering with other countries.

Now we must remember that England had been brought very low by the constant mismanagement of the governments for years before Elizabeth became queen. On the other hand Philip appeared to be very powerful. Spain had great fleets and could raise great armies ; her soldiers were well trained, and practised war ; she had the wealth of the New World to draw upon. In 1570 no one outside of England imagined that Elizabeth would have any sort of chance in a stand-up fight with Spain—though English seamen were already learning that they understood their business very much

5. Alva in the Netherlands, 1567.

A waiting policy.

better than the Spaniards. Englishmen generally reckoned that in a big fight they would come out much better than their neighbours expected. But Elizabeth believed that war would be a blunder; it would come some day, but not a day sooner than she could help—because the longer it was held off, the better would be England's chances of victory. Every year the country was growing stronger, richer, more settled; while every year Philip, unless he changed his policy, would find his hands more and more tied by the strain of keeping the Netherlands down. Meanwhile, she would do everything she could to damage Spain, short of provoking Philip into an open declaration of war.

Already in 1568 Cecil had made an experiment to see how far he could go safely. Some Genoese ships were on their way up Channel taking The Genoese some treasure to Alva, when weather forced them to treasure. shelter in English ports. Elizabeth said they had better hand the treasure to her instead of to Alva. Seeing that there was no choice in the matter, they handed it over. Philip was naturally angry, and seized the English ships in his own ports. Elizabeth seized the Spanish ships in English ports, and had the best of the exchange. But Philip did not declare war. Which showed that she could take considerable risks.

THEN from 1570 to 1572 there came a series of important events. Pope Pius v., despairing at last of Elizabeth's conversion, issued a Bull 6. The Bull declaring her deposed from the throne of England as an of Deposition, 1570. obstinate heretic. Nothing could have more thoroughly determined the whole people to stand by her as one man. But as the Pope proclaimed that it was the duty of the faithful to aid in her overthrow though it would be as well to pretend loyalty, numbers who were otherwise quite inclined to Catholicism became determined anti-papalists; and at the same time the most loyal and patriotic of Catholics were brought under suspicion of being secretly traitors to the queen. Consequently the profession of Catholicism was from this time penalised with a rigour which had not been shown before.

In 1571 came the Ridolfi plot for the assassination of Elizabeth; in favour of Mary who was to marry Norfolk. The Spanish ambassador The Ridolfi was in it; and the reason was that Elizabeth was playing plot, 1571. with the idea of marrying the French king's brother Henry of Anjou, the heir-presumptive to the French throne. From Philip's point of view, this would be worse than having Mary there. The

discovery of the plot very nearly forced on immediate war, though Philip had to pretend that he had nothing to do with it.

In the spring of 1572 the whole of the Netherlands blazed into sudden revolt—with the fervent sympathy of the English people, and not without covert help from the English government. The Netherlands revolt, 1572. From this time the leader of the Netherlands revolution is William 'the Silent' of Orange (which was a tiny independent principality in Provence), who happened also to be the lord of Nassau in Germany as well as of the estates in the Netherlands themselves which made him a possible chief for the anti-Spanish and Protestant cities and provinces.

Now this was at the time when a great show was being made in France of a general reconciliation between Catholics and Huguenots—Young Henry of Navarre was to marry the king's younger sister. The Paris massacre. All the great men of both parties were to gather in Paris to join in common festivities and rejoicings. In August the marriage actually took place. Catholic Paris was full of Huguenots. The midnight bells of St. Bartholomew's Eve gave the signal which opened the flood-gates for a fearful massacre planned by the Guises and Catherine. Not fewer and perhaps many more than twenty thousand Huguenots were slaughtered—and the example was promptly followed in other parts of France.

Elizabeth had managed before this to slip out of the marriage with Henry of Anjou who was about twenty years younger than herself though she was not yet forty. The ministers Cecil and Francis Walsingham had wanted the match in the hope that it would bring France over to the Protestant side, while they knew that there was now no danger that Elizabeth's husband, whoever he might be, would control her policy. But the massacre made friendly relations with France impossible for the time; it raised such wrath in England that the country would have gone to war at a word from the queen. But she had no intention of going to war with either France or Spain—yet.

In fact the massacre of St. Bartholomew gave both Elizabeth and Philip the chance of pretending to make friends again, though the English people were as hostile as ever to Spain. The 7. Amity with Spain. The pretence was hollow enough, for the English were determined not to be shut out of the New World from which Philip was determined to exclude them, and Philip claimed the right to punish heretics 'found on Spanish soil or in Spanish ports, whether they were

his own subjects or not—which naturally enraged the Protestant English mariners. Philip however recalled the tyrannical Alva from the Netherlands. The new governor's object was to offer terms which would satisfy the Catholic south Netherlands and thus had an air of generosity and reasonableness, but were still quite impossible for the Protestant north Netherlands to accept. William of Orange would never yield, but Elizabeth had an excuse for refusing him the active support which England would have given him if Walsingham could have had his way.

It seems very confusing at first sight to learn that when William of Orange could get no help from the English government, he turned to William the the French. But in the first place every French govern- Silent. ment, even if it persecuted Huguenots at home, had been quite ready to ally itself with Protestants abroad, and alliance with the Netherlands would always be extremely useful to France. The horror caused by the Paris massacre had created a reaction, and the Huguenots, though so many of their leaders had been murdered, gained nearly as much influence as they had lost at the first shock. Henry III., who had succeeded Charles as king, was a bigoted Catholic ; but his younger brother and heir-presumptive, Francis of Alençon, was regarded as favouring the Huguenots ; and it was to him that William turned. But there was another hidden reason. William did not really trust Francis, but he knew that the alliance would be so inconvenient for Elizabeth that in order to prevent it she might be driven to think better of her own refusal. It was a means to induce England to give him active support.

If we understand why Elizabeth was so nervous about French influence in the Netherlands, we shall see also why shrewd English states- The queen's men were nervous about that same matter for three hundred policy. years longer. If France controlled the north coast-line of Europe, with its ports, from Brittany up to the borders of Denmark, English control of the Channel and the North Sea would be in great danger—far more so than if either Spain or the Austrian Hapsburgs ruled the Netherlands ; because Austria was cut off from them both by land and by sea, and Spain could only reach them by running the gauntlet of the English fleet in the Channel.

Still, Elizabeth would not be drawn into helping William, which would have meant war with Spain. Instead of that, she started a new marriage comedy and for some years treated Alençon as a favoured suitor whom she would marry if she could persuade her people to

consent—and if he would decline Orange's proposals. She reckoned that as long as she could keep him dangling there would be no active French intervention on behalf of the Hollanders, while Philip would be unhappy and nervous, and she could secretly give the Dutch just enough help to keep them from going under completely in their desperate struggle.

And now the plot of our story thickens. In 1579 Philip's cousin Alexander of Parma, the ablest soldier and one of the ablest statesmen of the day, arrived in the Netherlands as governor. He completed the work of reconciling the southern provinces, New factors. but the north held fast together under Orange's leadership in the Union of Utrecht—which may be called the real beginning of the Dutch Republic. It would accept nothing short of full toleration for Protestantism; the struggle became more grim and apparently more hopeless than ever. And in the same year began an organised attempt on the part of the Papacy and of the irreconcilable English Catholics broad to recover England for the Church—partly by raising insurrection in Ireland, partly by means of a Jesuit mission to England. And these things, together with the exploits of Drake and other mariners, brought the coming war with Philip palpably nearer.

At this point then we must pause to look back at the story of Ireland and of the 'sea-dogs' who were on the point of wresting from Spain the supremacy of the seas.

III. Ireland : 1558-1579.

Ireland before Elizabeth—Shan O'Neill—The Plantations.

IN 1579 neither the Irish nor the mariners of England stood where they did seventy years before, when Henry VII. died.

The kings of England had not troubled themselves greatly about Ireland since the Irish chiefs had acknowledged the sovereignty of Henry II. in 1172. None of them except John and Richard II. had visited the island; the English government which was set up in Dublin had seldom tried seriously to make its authority felt beyond the small region known as the Pale; and the Norman families who had planted themselves there ceased to be 'English' and became as Irish as any one. In spite of English statutes, the country followed not the English laws but its own national customs, as the Highland clans did in the kingdom of Scotland. But in the

1. Ireland in
the past.

second half of the fifteenth century the Irish took such an active part in supporting the Yorkist cause that Henry VII. had thought it time to take an active part in governing them. Nevertheless, though Poynings' Law was passed, he had soon perceived that Ireland was not to be kept in order by English methods. There was an Irishman, Kildare, whom 'all Ireland could not rule'; therefore, Ireland being Ireland not England, Kildare was set to 'rule all Ireland' after his own fashion.

The experiment was successful—while old Kildare lived. But when he died, not long after Henry VII., the trouble began again; there was **Under** no one to rule all Ireland. In fact if any one—failing **Henry VII.** another Kildare—was to do it, he must have at his back an armed force to which turbulent chiefs would not venture to offer armed resistance. From the point of view of O'Neills, O'Donnells, or Geraldines, orders from any one else were made to be broken unless they could be enforced irresistibly. Henry VIII. and Wolsey sent over deputy after deputy to compel or persuade the chiefs to submission. One after another they demanded troops—enough troops to overawe the chiefs and make them feel that fighting, which they generally enjoyed, would not be worth while. But troops meant money which Henry did not want to waste on Ireland, so he never sent troops enough to garrison the country; or indeed to do more than raid the territories of one or another among the defiant chiefs, who were up in arms again as soon as the troops were back in the Pale. One deputy, Lord Grey, by way of a change tried making friends with some of the chiefs, but laid himself open to a charge of treason and was attainted and beheaded. Another, St. Leger, tried conciliation with greater prudence and with marked success for a time; but the general practice was to try to make up for the obvious difficulty of inflicting punishment by the severity of the punishment when it was inflicted; which exasperated every one.

The monasteries in Ireland were suppressed and their lands confiscated and redistributed, as in England; and this was an additional grievance, which gave the disaffected another excuse—loyalty to the Church—for hostility to the English rule.

Matters of course went no better under Edward VI. and Mary. Attempts to govern were almost abandoned. There was no Protes-
Under tantism in the country, so under Mary there was none of
Edward VI. the persecution which in England did more than anything
and Mary. else to create Protestant sympathies. But there was no
idea of a united Irish effort to throw off English rule; the chiefs were

were immediately concerned with their private quarrels and jealousies. There had been nothing of that kind for two and a half centuries—when the Celtic Irish, who had not yet absorbed the Norman barons, tried to win independence of England under Edward Bruce.

WHEN Elizabeth came to the throne the most powerful and vigorous of the northern chiefs was Shan O'Neill of Tyrone, whose neighbours were the O'Donnells of Tyrconnel in the north-west, and the Scots colony at Antrim in the north-east. It would seem to have been Shan's ambition to make himself the ruler of all Ireland after the pattern of the old Kildare—and perhaps, if events went favourably, independent High King of all Ireland like some of his ancestors centuries before. He had secured the chieftainship of the O'Neills in accordance with Irish custom, though the English government had chosen to recognise his nephew as earl of Tyrone. Whatever Shan thought of doing afterwards, the first thing was to establish his own supremacy in Ulster by attacking Tyrconnel; which he did with such success that the deputy Sussex took alarm at his growing power, and marched to suppress him in 1561. But it was Sussex who barely escaped destruction at Shan's hands. Whereupon Elizabeth, thinking of Henry VII. and Kildare, summoned him to England. He went—and succeeded in convincing the queen that he was the man to govern not all Ireland but the north of it; and in 1562 he returned to Ireland, with much apparent goodwill on both sides.

But Shan's visit to England had filled him with distrust of Elizabeth's good faith; not without reason. However the immediate outcome was that Elizabeth divided Ireland outside the Pale into three provinces—Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, in each of which one of the Irish chiefs was to be President with very large powers; O'Neill in the north, Burke or O'Brien in the west, Kildare, Desmond, or Desmond in the south.

In the eyes of English rulers in the Pale, the Irish were people who in the words of one deputy) could only be treated as 'bears and ban-dogs,' to be kept in order by their own weapons, violence and treachery—abominable crimes in an Irishman, which ceased to be crimes when used against one. O'Neill used those weapons with more skill and success than any one else, and the Irish did not resent them when they were used by Irishmen. When they were used by Englishmen against Irishmen it was another matter. Hostility to the English increased. There was not much security for life and

2. Shan
O'Neill,
1558-67.

Three pre-
sidencies.

The end of
Shan.

property—the ideal of English government—anywhere ; but there was probably more in Ulster than anywhere else. In 1567 however Shan's career came suddenly to an end ; he was killed in an accidental brawl.

Shan O'Neill may be regarded as having started the idea of Ireland's national independence, which was encouraged by the progress of the Irish question of religion. In England, after the Marian persecution, Elizabeth could enforce her religious settlement and her Act of Uniformity with general consent. In Ireland, where there was no movement at all towards Protestantism, the Reformation was simply another incentive to resist the English authority, and to call in the aid of Catholic sympathisers, whether in England or in foreign lands. Although during her first years Elizabeth had been satisfied with a very superficial outward submission to her settlements, Shan O'Neill before he died had already begun to feel his way to an understanding with the Scots Catholics.

ENGLISH domination was a standing grievance. English Protestantism was becoming a grievance. Just at the moment when it was growing 3. The second difficult in England to be both a patriot and a Catholic, grievance. it was growing difficult in Ireland to be a Catholic without being an enemy of the English. Before many years had passed, the English government in both countries was driven to regard all Catholic priests and most Catholic laymen as more likely than not to be engaged in treasonable projects, though there were many of the latter whose loyalty nothing could shake.

And now a third grievance came into play. In an evil hour it occurred to the English that if a sufficient number of loyal Englishmen could be The third planted in Ireland on the land, they would serve the purpose of a permanent garrison, and the Irish problem would be solved. But the land was all in somebody's possession already. It was only by turning out the present possessors that land could be found on which to plant Englishmen.

In 1568 the earl of Desmond found himself involved in a charge of treason. The forfeiture of a part of his estates (lying in the south) suggested that there might be a legal way of seizing other The first Plantations, estates and handing them over to a group of Devonshire 1568. gentlemen who were willing to try the experiment, and, once they were put in legal possession, would take care of themselves. English law provided a convenient method. The proprietors of Irish land had succeeded to their estates generally by the rules of ancient

Irish custom, not by those of the English statute law. An inquiry was held into the 'title' by which a number of them, in the province of Munster, held their estates; the title which was sound according to Irish custom was not sound by English law; the estates were forfeited, and by an act which in Irish eyes was pure robbery, the Devon gentlemen became the 'legal' owners. The peasantry as a matter of course were loyal to their own lords who had been robbed of their additional rights by English law for the benefit of Englishmen. Probably from that time the average Irishman came to regard 'the law' as an engine devised for the crushing of the weak by the strong, instead of one intended to give the weak at least a measure of protection against the strong.

Then there arose in Ireland a position which is always and everywhere fatal to good government—the Law on one side and the People on the other. It is worth while to dwell on this, because the Law the enemy lies at the root of all government. In England, public opinion has never combined whole-heartedly against law or government as an enemy to the general well-being. Englishmen have risen in insurrection to get a particular law altered, like Wat Tyler's peasants. They have risen as champions of the law against a government which they regarded as acting against the law, as in the days of King John or Charles I., or as having usurped an authority to which it had no right, as the Jacobites did.

But they have always had the conviction at the back of their minds that, for the common good, law must be maintained and supported, and that a strong government is a public need. They believe it first because the English law has always protected them more than it has oppressed them, and secondly because they have always had some sort of a voice and an influence in making it themselves. But when once a population has learnt to believe that law and government are its enemies, and that to cheat, break, and defy the law are praiseworthy actions, such a people will give trouble to its rulers unless all spirit is hopelessly crushed out of it. And it will meet force by any form of violence to which it can turn.

So it was in Ireland. There were murders and assassinations met with merciless and wholesale reprisals with the entire approval of men who in any other circumstances held cruelty and treachery in the utmost loathing. Resistance in Munster was even under the surface. Then Ulster had its turn. The earl of Essex was allowed to try there a colonising scheme of his own. He

meant to establish the most benevolent of governments, but the people of Ulster would have none of it. The plan failed completely—so Essex was made President or Governor of Ulster. His first failure had convinced him that benevolence was a mistake; he went to the other extreme. The Irish must be ruled after all by the strong hand—in other words by terrorism; so by way of a lesson a massacre of the unarmed population was perpetrated at Rathlin which anywhere outside of Ireland would have been denounced as an unspeakable crime. In Ireland it was merely a commendable exertion of lawful authority over a horde of lawless savages—‘bears and bandogs.’

For the time being, lawful authority was triumphant. The English Presidents in Munster and Connaught (the plan of Irish Presidents having come to grief) dealt vigorously with disaffection in those provinces, on the general principle that mercy would only be regarded as a proof of weakness. And the general result was that by 1579 Ireland from end to end was seething with hatred of the English.

IV. The Seamen.

In the Middle Ages—The Tudor Royal Navy—The Sea-dogs, 1497-1580.

IN our history so far we have told little of the doings of English seamen and English fleets; but from the days of Elizabeth onwards they play **1.** The so important a part in the defence and expansion of our English fleet. Commonwealth that we have now to explain the birth of British sea-power. And to do that we must go back a very long way to see both how much our sailors had done in the past and why it had made so much less show than what they have done since the middle of the sixteenth century.

England and Scotland can neither attack nor be attacked by any one else, except by sea. We have always needed fleets strong enough to guard our shores against invaders. The old Britons never thought of that, and so the Romans were able to land as many legions as they required for the conquest. The Roman fleets protected the islands from the Saxon rovers, but when the legions were withdrawn the fleets were withdrawn too, and the Saxon invaders in the fifth and sixth centuries met with no resistance till they were ashore. But the Saxons in their turn never thought of being themselves attacked by sea, and so in the ninth century the Danish fleets landed Danish armies almost unchecked until Alfred the Great started shipbuilding

ld beat them on the seas before they could come to land. But for
at, it is quite possible that the Danes would have conquered the
ic island instead of only mastering the Danelagh.

When the Danes were able to come again a hundred years later, it was
ly because Ethelred took no care of the fleet; and William the
nqueror might never have got to Pevensey if Harold's fleet had not
en shattered by storms in the Channel while the Normans were
waiting to put to sea. Britain or England was actually half conquered
ice and wholly conquered four times in just over one thousand years,
ad every time it was because there had not been a fleet to meet the
vader before he could come to land. And every time except the
st, it was the fault of Britons or English who had not taken the trouble
e keep fighting-ships in readiness. And that again was because the
nglish had not become a commercial nation trading overseas, or
aving many dealings with their neighbours across the Channel, so that
ey had not become sailors in the course of business.

This was changed by the Norman conquest, which set up a constant
tercourse between England and Normandy. As soon as that
ppened, ships and sailors were wanted—and they had The Plan-
be fighting-ships, because on the water English law and tagenet fleets.
orman law counted for nothing, and every ship had to be able to
otect itself against pirates. And then when King John lost Normandy,
e saw that a fighting-fleet to carry troops to France and to hold off
vasion from France was necessary. The one thing to John's credit
all his evil reign was the organising of a fighting fleet in the Channel
arbour called the 'Cinq Ports' (or Five Ports) which successfully
eat off a French invasion in 1216.

Now from that time there was a hot rivalry between the sailors of
ormandy and the English sailors of the south coast. A turning-point
as reached in the reign of Edward III. when the battle of Sluys gave
e English the mastery of the 'narrow seas' which they never really
st again though there were times when it was in danger. The
possession of Calais was a great help, and all through the Hundred
ears' War the sea was no barrier to English invasions of France,
hile the most the French could do was to make raids on the English
east.

Still, until the end of the fourteenth century, English sailors rarely
ent further east than the Netherlands or south than Bordeaux.
hrough the fifteenth they were pushing into the Baltic and feeling their
ay in the Mediterranean, and governments from the days of Richard II.

on were trying to increase English shipping by 'Navigation Acts' requiring goods from abroad to be brought to England not by foreign but by English ships.

THUS by the reign of Henry VII. English commerce had extended greatly, and English shipping along with it, commerce for England
 2. Ocean- being necessarily carried on with countries beyond the
 going. seas. But the sailors of the north were only just beginning to come into competition with the sailors of the south. The big sea-commerce and sea-communications had been between the countries or states surrounding the Mediterranean, which had also been the field of innumerable great naval conflicts for two thousand years. Then at the close of the fifteenth century came the great maritime discoveries which were to change everything : an ocean route to the East round the south of Africa worked out after more than half a century of patient exploration by the Portuguese, and a continent on the other side of the Atlantic discovered by a Spanish expedition captained by the Genoese sailor Christopher Columbus. The future in this new world and this new old-world, hitherto cut off from Europe by the Moslem barrier, lay with the peoples whose seaboard was on the Atlantic Ocean, and whose sailors learnt their work in wilder waters and on more dangerous coasts than those of the Mediterranean.

The lead lay with Portugal and Spain, who soon left far behind them the Italian states whose fleets had hitherto been the most powerful
 The new (except for Turkish rivalry) in the Mediterranean. But
 seamanship. before the end of the sixteenth century it had passed on from them to the English, the Dutch, and the French. And one very important reason for this second change was that the Spaniards had learnt their ideas of seamanship in the old school of the Mediterranean ; where ships, and especially fighting-ships, had been driven from time immemorial by oars in preference to sails. For the sailing-ship must have breezes and the sailor must know how to make the most of every breath of wind, but the 'galley,' the oar-driven vessel, can do what it likes when there is little or no wind on quiet waters where the sailing-ship lies becalmed and helpless. But calm seas and breathless skies are comparatively rare in the north, and when waves are running high and winds blowing strong, all the advantages are with the sailing-ship ; therefore the northern seamen were what the Spaniards were not, sailors in the proper sense. They were in the habit of sailing their ships, not rowing them. And when it came to work on the ocean or

the northern seas, the skilled sailors were more than a match for
 leys as well as for unskilled or less skilled sailors on a sailing-ship.
 But at the beginning of the century this had not become evident.
 The English were more than a match for the French in the narrow seas,
 no one yet supposed that they were going to be a match for the fleets of the famous maritime states of the
 north, or that they were going to surpass both Spaniards and Portuguese
 travellers across the ocean. The French were still the rivals whom
 they had in view, and their German commercial competitors in the
 North Sea and the Baltic.

And there was still nothing that could be called a Royal Navy.
 The southern ports were expected and required to supply ships and
 men for coast defence, and to hold the Channel if England
 intended to send troops to France; just as there was no
 standing army and troops were not kept under arms but only called
 out when there was actual war on hand. Shipbuilding however became
 a hobby with Henry VIII., and he actually started a royal fleet of which
 he was extremely proud—especially of a ship which for those days was
 unusually large, and was called the *Royal Harry*, and another (which
 lay out in harbour with all hands) called the *Marie Rose*.

The creation of a royal fleet was a great advance; and it was kept
 going, though allowed to fall badly to pieces, in the two following
 reigns. The repair and improvement of it was one of the
 matters which was soon taken in hand by Elizabeth's
 ministers; but, as we saw before, their first business was to get the
 national expenditure into working order. There was little money
 to spend on a navy which had never had much spent on it except by
 Henry VIII.—the country would depend as it had done before on the
 ships supplied by the ports or by private enterprise. But the queen's
 ships,¹ though they remained few, were made as good as was possible
 with the money available—good value was got for every penny spent.
 They were to be to the other ships of the national fleet very much
 as Harold's huscarles were to the English army of his day—a trained
 and disciplined body of men giving strength to the ordinary levies of
 fighting-men whose ordinary business in life was not fighting, and whose
 courage could be relied on more confidently than their discipline. But
 in this navy the queen's crews and their captains were trained not in

Henry VIII. left 53 ships averaging 200 tons burden. Elizabeth started
 with 26 averaging 270 tons: in 1588 she had 34 in the fighting-line averag-
 ing 360 tons.

the royal service but in the school of private adventure ; men brought into her service when they had long learnt their business sailing and fighting for their own hand. There is no distinction between other mariners and those on the queen's ships. But the queen's ships themselves were the best that could be built.

Now Henry VII. had tried one experiment in the way of State-supported enterprise—the voyage of the Bristol men under the Cabots who were 3. **The Tudor** the first to reach the actual continent of North America. **mariners.** The result promised so little profit that the experiment was not repeated. But private individuals were more enterprising than the Government. If there was no gold in Newfoundland, there was profit to be made in the cod-fishing, with more than a spice of danger. The cod-banks were an excellent school of seamanship. So daring voyages were made by Englishmen in the northern seas. Also they annoyed the Portuguese by sailing south and making landings in Africa, which was poaching on the Portuguese preserves. But the great object which began to possess their minds was to make an entry into the Spanish preserves in the West Indies and Central America ; for the purpose of what they reckoned to be lawful trading. And the lawful trading was flatly forbidden by Philip. Hence arose collisions between the ships of the king of Spain and the ships of the English adventurers.

Here it was that the Englishmen learnt their superiority over the Spaniards. Most notable among their many notable captains, in the **John** Spanish seas, were John Hawkins and his younger kinsman **Hawkins.** Francis Drake. Hawkins began as a slave-trader. The 'Indians' of the Spanish possessions were poor labourers. Hawkins bought or kidnapped hardy African negroes on the Guinea coast and carried them over to sell to the Spaniards, who were ready enough to buy ; but the traffic being forbidden by the king, they required a show of force to be made by the English, as an excuse. In 1567 as he lay with three ships in the harbour of San Juan d'Ulloa a Spanish squadron of thirteen ships entered, apparently without hostile intentions, but on the third night they attacked him. Two of the ships—one under Drake's command—fought their way out, and managed to return to England ; but the prisoners who had been taken by the Spaniards were handed over to the ecclesiastical judges, the Inquisition, and suffered not as pirates but as heretics. From that time at least Englishmen and Spaniards waged war on each other 'beyond the line'—the

which Pope Alexander had ruled between the Spanish and Portuguese halves of the new worlds—each with a firm conviction that law and right were on their own side. The English persuaded themselves that the Spaniards had no right to shut them out, and still less to send dissenters to the rack or the stake. To Drake and men of his kind war was a sort of crusade.

Year by year the feud waxed more fierce, and while Philip demanded that Elizabeth should punish her pirates, Elizabeth claimed that the punishment of her subjects as heretics was worse than Francis was doing. In 1572 Drake went on an expedition in which he sacked or put to ransom towns on the 'Spanish main' or mainland of Central America, and captured a huge mule-train of treasure which was crossing the Isthmus of Panama. Still Elizabeth refused to punish him, and in fact received a handsome share of the booty; and still Philip did not declare war.

Then came an attack of unprecedented daring. At the end of 1577 Drake sailed with five ships, struck south, passed through the Strait of Magellan which had been penetrated only once before, Voyage of and with the one ship which was left to him, the *Pelican* the 'Pelican,' the *Golden Hind* (of no more than one hundred tons) entered 1577-80.

the Pacific late in 1578 and continued his adventurous voyage. No Spaniard had dreamed of an English ship daring to sail in those waters. He surprised and sacked Valparaiso. He captured and cleared of their treasures sundry great galleons; and when he had got all he could take, he sailed north and spent the next year in explorations. Finally he returned for home across the Pacific, passed through the Malay Archipelago, rounded the Cape in January 1580, and sailed into Plymouth Sound in September, the second captain and the first Englishman who had sailed clean round the world. Instead of hanging him as the Spanish ambassador Mendoza demanded, Elizabeth knighted him on his own quarter-deck.

V. Elizabeth and Philip (ii): 1579-1588.

The Storm gathers, 1579-85—The End of Queen Mary, 1585-7—
The Armada, 1588—The English Victory.

In 1579 revolt blazed out in Munster, headed by the Desmond lords, and fostered by the preaching of the Catholic Nicholas Mallick. With fire and sword and many hangings it was punished

but not crushed. In 1580 it blazed up in a fresh quarter, in Wicklow, where the troops of the deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, were trapped and cut up at Seven Churches¹—an event which gave it fresh life in Munster, where the insurgents were joined by troops of Italian and Spanish volunteers, subjects of King Philip. But they were shut up in Smerwick which was forced to surrender at the end of the year; and the garrison were therefore massacred in cold blood. Thousands had perished by the sword or on the gallows in the bloodthirsty struggle of the last fifteen months, and after this there was no more resistance in the open field, though for another couple of years murders and hangings were everyday occurrences.

Drake was back in England by this time and the world was ringing with the fame of his exploits. On the other hand, the work of the Jesuit emissaries was in full swing; some of them, like the saintly Campian, devoted solely to the aim of restoring the wandering sheep to the fold of the Church; others, like Parsons, astute if misguided politicians who taught the doctrine of combining open loyalty with secret treason. Many of them were hunted down, captured, tried by torture, and finally put to death as traitors, meeting their fate with the heroism of martyrs. The preaching of Roman Catholicism was so obviously associated with the preaching of treason that from this time the Catholics were subjected by Act of Parliament to a merciless persecution infinitely more severe than they had known hitherto.

The air was thick with plots and rumours of plots for murdering Elizabeth and setting Mary on the throne by the help of Spain or the Guises, or both. One such, Throgmorton's, was discovered in 1583, but still Elizabeth would not bring her prisoner to trial. Mary's own attitude was always the same; her detention was unlawful and unjustifiable; she had every right to seek for deliverance even by force; but of plots for the assassination of Elizabeth she had no knowledge, and to nothing of the kind had she ever given countenance. Practically it was the attitude which Elizabeth had adopted in the days of Wyatt's rebellion. As a matter of fact the known evidence points to her complicity but does not prove it. Of the complicity of the Spanish court there is no manner of doubt.

Elizabeth still kept Alençon dangling, but in 1582 William, at last despairing of English help, and watching the Spanish tide creeping

See Map at end.

relentlessly over the still stubborn United Provinces, offered the Protectorship to Alençon, and then Alençon sealed his own fate by planning to play traitor. His plot was discovered, he was ignominiously expelled from the Netherlands, and the marriage project was wiped off the board. It had never been anything but a trick on Elizabeth's part. But it was more than ever evident that only from England could Orange get the help which made it possible to continue the struggle. When he was himself assassinated in 1584, the end seemed to be in sight.

But in the same year the wretched Alençon died. His death left the Huguenot Henry of Navarre heir-presumptive to the French throne. France was for some years cut out of all possibility of active interference outside her own borders by the struggle of the fanatical Guises to prevent a Protestant succession in France.

The Guise faction in its zeal for that one end was ready to ally itself with Philip if his aid should be needed ; it had almost become a Spanish faction. If Mary Stewart came to the throne of England, her bond with France would not be one with a rival Power to Spain but with the Guises ; if she came to it by Philip's side now, she would reign as the ally of Philip. The old reasons for disliking her succession had now melted away completely. On the other hand, while the early completion of the conquest of the Netherlands seemed certain, there was now no possible chance that France would stand by Elizabeth in a conflict with Philip. The queen of England, he dreamed, would no longer dare to defy him.

Philip had never realised that the majority of Englishmen, and above all the mariners, were more than ready to try conclusions with Spain, and that it was Elizabeth herself who had held them back. In 1585 his patience was exhausted, and he seized all English ships lying in Spanish ports. The self-restraint of the English snapped, and Elizabeth made open alliance with the United Provinces. The last pretence of formal peace between Spain and England vanished.

THE first blow was struck by Drake, whose name was already a terror to the Spaniards—*Il Draco*, the Dragon, was the form they gave it. With licence from Elizabeth, he raised a fleet of privateers, started for Vigo one of the great Spanish ports, and destroyed a vast amount of shipping, departed to the Spanish Main and sacked Cartagena, the starting point of the Spanish treasure-fleets, and returned home laden with Spanish treasure.

Exit
Alençon,
1584.

Henry of
Navarre.

Philip
and Mary
Stewart.

2. Drake's
attack, 1585.

The next step was to send an army to support the Dutch. But in that business Elizabeth was never whole-hearted. The commander **The Dutch alliance.** was her favourite Leicester, whom she had occasionally allowed to believe that she meant to marry him; but he was no general, and was hampered besides by orders from home—unlike the sailors who, once out of port, were out of reach. The army in the Netherlands did nothing, though a small part of it fought brilliantly in a sharp skirmish at Zutphen where the famous and peerless knight Sir Philip Sidney was slain; winning immortality by refusing the cup of water of which another wounded warrior was in equal need.

Now came the last act in the tragedy of Mary Stewart. Till the affair of Throgmorton's plot was done with, Elizabeth had held fast by her **The Queen of Scots, 1585.** original plan of treatment. Balancing the advantages and disadvantages of keeping her prisoner, she reckoned that the advantages were greater; but positive proof that Mary was plotting her death would make the general demand for Mary's death irresistible; therefore such positive proof must not be obtained, though it was no less necessary that the world should believe her to be guilty. But in 1585 the position had changed. Mary alive had become more dangerous, because Philip was at last wholeheartedly on her side. On the other hand, the Scots would merely disregard threats of her restoration, knowing that to be a risk which Elizabeth would not take, while they were equally certain not to be drawn into active hostility to England, whatever might happen. The one reason for keeping Mary alive was Elizabeth's personal feeling that crowned heads must be held sacred.

Nine Englishmen out of ten desired Mary's death, none more than Secretary Walsingham, a minister no less able than his colleague Cecil **Walsingham.** (now Lord Burghley), and the strongest advocate of a policy which made England definitely the champion of Protestantism everywhere. In 1585 when England became actually and openly at war with Spain, Elizabeth yielded to Walsingham's pressure. Hitherto Mary had been kept under such strict ward that it had been extraordinarily difficult for her to have personal knowledge of plottings on her behalf. Now she was given—in appearance—increased liberty, while in actual fact every letter that went into or out of her place of confinement was carried, read, and copied by Walsingham's agents, some of whom were expert forgers.

In 1586 a plot known as Babington's was on foot. Walsingham knew

about it, watched till the moment came for striking, and then struck. The evidence of the copied letters was overwhelming—unless they contained forged passages. That is the one point which Babington's case has been and never can be finally cleared up. On Plot, 1586. The evidence, Mary was condemned. Elizabeth for some time refused to sign the death-warrant. At last she gave way to the urgency of her ministers and signed. They acted at once, without saying more to the queen of England; and in February 1587 Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded at Fotheringhay.

Elizabeth stormed after her fashion, dismissed Secretary Davison who had got her signature to the death-warrant, and called heaven and earth to witness that had she known what was going on she would have stopped the execution. But—Mary was dead.

THERE was now no possible Catholic claimant to the English throne in the British Isles. No one, Catholic or Protestant, would plot to get on the throne the young king of Scots who was a Protestant. But two sisters of Henry IV., daughters of John of Gaunt and grand-daughters of Edward III., had married the kings of Portugal and Castile respectively. Philip was descended from both of them, and had annexed Portugal in 1580 as heir of the childless monarch who died in that year, though there were other claimants with a better title. Philip, now that Mary was out of the way, claimed to be himself the lawful heir to the English crown which had lawfully been hers—on the favourite principle that Protestants as heretics were barred from the throne. But English Catholics who would have stood by Mary were for the most part too English to support Philip's claims at any price. Catholics who had wavered before were in no doubt now—they were patriots first, and as such could only oppose Philip.

A couple of months after Mary's death Drake struck his second blow, at Cadiz, a harbour bigger than Vigo, where the great Spanish Armada for the conquest of England was in active preparation. Drake at Cadiz, 1587. As at Vigo, he sailed in and burnt all the Spanish shipping and stores—'singeing the king of Spain's beard' he called it; and before coming home captured a great Spanish treasure-galleon. In spite of this a fleet was ready to sail in the late autumn, but would not risk the winter storms in the Channel. Then the one really able Spanish admiral, Santa Cruz, died, and the expedition could not set out till midsummer. Drake was not allowed to repeat the achievements of

3. Philip
claims the
Crown.

Vigo and Cadiz ; the Government was mistakenly troubled by a conviction that the fleet must be kept in the Channel to guard the shores of England.

The Spaniards did not come out in order to meet the English fleet and wipe it out. Their plan was to send a huge fleet carrying quantities of troops and stores, which would hold together, push its way irresistibly up the Channel till it reached the Netherlands port of Flushing, and there be joined by Parma with another great force. Then the whole would be carried to England, would there be landed, and would proceed to conquer the country. In England there was no trained army fit to stand up against Parma's veterans led by the ablest of living generals. There were only raw levies as in the days of Harold, apart from the few who had seen service as volunteers in the Netherlands or with the Huguenots in France. Conquest seemed sure—if Parma got his army to England ; though the levies were hastily assembled at Tilbury.

But the English fleet was out to destroy the Spanish fleet itself, so that Parma and his army should never get to England at all. And what the English sailors meant to do, they did. They were perfectly confident of victory from the beginning, and in fact they found the business rather more difficult than they had expected. There was nothing miraculous about it. The Englishmen had found out how to fight their ships, and the Spaniards had not. They stuck to the time-honoured Mediterranean methods which had given them a few years before a great victory over the Turks at Lepanto. But the English had learnt quite new methods in the West Indies, which were now going to be worked for the first time on a big scale.

For their own purpose, the Spaniards went to work the right way when the Armada came in July. Their business was to carry a fleet of big ships up the Channel to Flushing, beating off attacks on the way, and keeping their mass of ships together. They were working up Channel for a week, and got as far as Calais. The object of the English was to break the Spanish mass up into sections and destroy them piecemeal, and at the end of the week's fighting they had not succeeded. They had tormented the Spanish flank and rear ; they had damaged some ships seriously and sunk or captured three or four stragglers out of the one hundred and thirty Spanish vessels without themselves losing a ship or more than some scores of men.

But while the great Spanish fleet lay in Calais Roads, the English

on the device which achieved their object. Damaged ships, carefully prepared, were towed and drifted with a favouring breeze under cover of a pitch-dark night into the roadstead, and were there set ablaze. The Spaniards were seized with panic, cut their anchor-cables, and fled helter-skelter for the open sea. In the morning (29th July) they were scattered for miles along the coast. Off Gravelines the English swooped on the rear of the long straggling line; the Spaniards to the east could not beat back against the wind to join their comrades, or reach the haven past which they had been carried; the ships waiting in the Netherlands ports were kept pinned to their moorings by the Dutch, and could not come out. Before a southerly gale the broken Armada ran as best it could for the North Sea, with the English in pursuit till there was no ammunition left. Those that escaped struggled, storm-beaten and shattered, round the north of Scotland; many were lost on the rocks of the Scottish and Irish coasts; only a few crippled hulks at last found their way back to Spanish ports.

If Harold Godwinson had overthrown William of Normandy at the battle of Hastings, there would have been no Norman conquest, and England would probably never have become a great Power. 4. A decisive battle. If the Spaniards had destroyed the English fleet in 1588, they would have been able to pour almost unlimited masses of troops into England and the Netherlands, Spain's own supremacy on the seas would have been established, the Dutch Republic would have perished, and if England had not been wiped out as a Power, her imperial expansion at least would have been made impossible. Of no other English battle than these two, Hastings and Gravelines, at least until the eighteenth century, can it be said that on the victory of one side or the other such tremendous issues were staked.

Legends have grown up about the great battle which require correction, and facts which it is of real importance to understand are apt to be passed over. Thus we are often told that the queen ventured to place the fleet under the command of a Roman Catholic; but the admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, was not a Roman Catholic, and none held any high office at all, though Catholics fought in the fleet and joined the army which was mustered at Tilbury. Again triumphant Protestantism attributed the victory to the direct intervention of Providence—*Dominus flavit et dissipati sunt*: The Lord blew and His enemies were scattered. The winds did in actual

fact complete the destruction of the 'Most Fortunate Armada' as Philip had somewhat rashly called it; but it was a fleet already scattered and broken beyond hope of recovery which drove north before them. There is a popular superstition that 'the little English boats darted in and out among the huge Spanish galleons.' They did nothing of the kind.

What they did before the great fight of Gravelines on 29th July was to hang on the windward side of the massed Spanish fleet so that **The English** they could bear down on its outer ships when they chose, **tactics.** pound their hulls and decks with broadsides from the ships' guns as they passed within range (while the Spaniards' fire mostly went overhead), and cut off any stragglers that fell out of the line. What they did at Gravelines was to attack and destroy the rear ships and prevent the others from recovering their mass-formation until the rising gale made it finally impossible. But as long as the Spaniards had kept their mass-formation it had been impossible to stop their advance, though it had been equally impossible for the Spaniards to do serious damage to the ships hovering round them. And what they did all the time was to keep at gun-range, pounding and battering with artillery, sending home a dozen shots to the Spaniards' one, and only to close and board when the Spaniards' deck was already a shambles.

They won by superior seamanship and superior gunnery, and they proved once for all that, given sufficient breeze, the ships under sail **A seamen's** could manœuvre better than the ship driven by oars, so **victory.** that before long oar-driven galleys disappeared from fighting-fleets altogether. And from that time victory went to the sailors who knew best how to handle their ships—the English and the Dutch. For years to come, Spaniards fighting English at odds of less than three to one usually fought with the painful expectation of defeat, and the English always with a comfortable assurance of victory.

VI. The Last Years : 1588-1603.

The Maritime War, 1589-1603—Ventures Oversea, 1577-1603—
Ireland, 1579-1603—Elizabeth's Heir.

SPAIN did not give up the struggle. There was no formal peace between
i. The the two countries till both Philip and Elizabeth were
Queen's dead. Drake and Walsingham and Raleigh would have
policy. set about shattering the power of Spain altogether and
seizing her dominions in the New World. But that was not Elizabeth's

plan, nor was it Burghley's. If Spain were broken to pieces, there would be no Power in Europe to balance against France. Besides, half the sailors were not thinking about destroying the Spanish Empire, but about the huge loot they could collect from Spanish treasure-fleets as long as war was going on.

So Drake next year was allowed to lead an expedition to Lisbon, in order to win the Portuguese crown for a Pretender, Dom Antonio, but Elizabeth took her own steps to prevent the venture from succeeding, while she made it appear that the failure was due to Drake's mismanagement. In 1595 another expedition was sent to the Spanish Main under Drake and Hawkins—who was a great sailor and shared with Drake the credit for the defeat of the Armada, but was one of those who thought more about capturing treasure than wrecking the power of Spain. That venture met with little success, since the Spaniards had learnt some lessons and were not taken by surprise; and both Drake and Hawkins died while it was at sea.

The war at sea, 1589-1603.

Next year (1596) an English fleet repeated Drake's performance of 1587 at Cadiz. The famous fight in which Sir Richard Grenville on the *Revenge* did battle with a Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail for a day and a night in 1591 was merely an incident which showed the reckless daring and confidence of English sailors and struck terror into the hearts of their foes, but in no other sense was anything gained by it; and when Philip died in 1598 (the same year as Lord Burghley), he was still in the belief that Spain was the mightiest Power in the world; though as a matter of fact the supremacy of the seas had passed from Spain for ever.

THE desire of getting rich by the rapid and attractive if rather risky process of fighting Spaniards for the treasure they had collected, and even patriotic enthusiasm when invasion was threatened, 2. English would not have been enough to give the English victory voyages. over their rivals, if they had not felt the 'call of the sea' as no other people has done. The glory of the seamen did not lie only in their prowess in fighting; they had become the most venturous voyagers in the world. If Howard of Effingham was the official Admiral of the Fleet, which was actually organised mainly by Hawkins and directed mainly by Drake who had sailed through the stormy strait of Magellan, traversed the Pacific, and circumnavigated the globe, a share hardly less than theirs was taken in the defeat of the Armada by Martin Frobisher;

who in 1576 and 1578 had sailed the Arctic seas in search of a north-west passage, and explored 'Frobisher's Sound,' in craft of no more than twenty-five tons burden. (The 'little' *Revenge* was of five hundred tons.) Another captain no less deserving of fame was John Davis, just back from discovering Davis Strait. Thirty years earlier Englishmen had worked their way round the north of Europe and 'discovered Muscovy'—the name then given to Russia, a country all but unknown to Western Europe—by way of the icy White Sea.

Moreover the idea of colonisation had begun to take shape, though we can hardly yet say to take root. During the eighties, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh had tried in vain to start a settlement in the north of America, losing his life on the homeward voyage when his little ship the *Squirrel* foundered in a storm with all hands. He had refused to leave her for a bigger and safer vessel, with the words 'We are as near God by sea as by land.' Sir Walter Raleigh, Gilbert's half-brother, took up Gilbert's plan, and started a settlement farther south at Roanoke on the Chesapeake, giving it the name of Virginia in honour of the 'Virgin Queen.' But Englishmen as yet preferred fighting Spaniards to battling with Nature where wealth could only be acquired by long and arduous toil; and Raleigh's little colony was thrice wiped out by Red Indians or abandoned in despair by the settlers. No successful settlement was made till James I. was king, and Jamestown became the fresh starting-point whence Virginia rose anew.

During the last ten years of the century English ships could sail where they would, confident that they could deal very thoroughly with any hostile force which was less than overwhelming, and could show a clean pair of heels to any which was too big to be challenged. Hence their thoughts began to dwell on the East which had not hitherto offered attractions comparable to those of the West. The Portuguese had had the Indian Ocean to themselves, and there was no hostility to Portugal until in 1580 the Portuguese maritime empire was annexed to the Spanish crown by Philip. But their monopoly in the East was as open to challenge as that of the Spaniards in the West, and the trade between Portugal and the East by way of the Cape was very lucrative. English travellers had made their way overland through Persia to India, and their reports were tempting. And so in 1600 a company was formed of 'London Merchants trading to the East,' which was granted—like the old Merchant Adventurers—a royal charter on the last day of the year and of the century. And this was the birth of the East India Company

of traders which, a hundred and fifty years later, was fighting the French Company of traders in India and laying the foundations of the British Indian Empire.

From the triumphant tale of the birth of English sea-power, we must turn again to the unhappy story of the troubles in Ireland.

AFTER Desmond's revolt the south of Ireland had been so thoroughly crushed that even in the Armada time there was no attempt at a rising, though that was not for any lack of ill-will to the English. 3. Hugh The Irish, north and south, had learnt that in open war- O'Neill. They were bound to be beaten and would find no mercy when they were beaten. But in the north Shan O'Neill's nephew Hugh had grown up and succeeded to the earldom of Tyrone. He had been educated in England, understood the English better than most of his countrymen, and saw that as long as the Irish remained divided and perpetually at strife with each other they could never defy their English rulers successfully. Openly at least, he always used his influence to persuade his neighbours to obey and maintain the law. Yet the English deputies, one after another, suspected him of secretly encouraging resistance to the Government, and aiming, like his uncle, at becoming the real ruler of the north. In fact, five years after the Armada—when, owing to Elizabeth's policy, it seemed that Spain was again becoming dangerous—Tyrone was certainly in communication with the Spaniards. But the English could get no proofs. After the Cadiz expedition of 1596 the Spanish danger seemed to have passed; and the cautious earl, who certainly did not mean to enter on a struggle with England without foreign help, succeeded in persuading the Government to treat him with more confidence than before though they were still suspicious. In 1598 the suspicions had become so acute that an expedition was sent against him from Dublin, which met with a disastrous defeat.

Now the young earl of Essex at this time held the first place in the affections of the old queen. He was an active politician, he had won some distinction as a soldier and as a sailor, and he aspired Essex. to be at least the queen's chief counsellor. His principal rivals were Burghley's son Robert Cecil and Walter Raleigh. Every one had failed in Ireland, and Essex was sent there with bigger forces and larger powers than any deputy before him. He marched against Tyrone but, instead of attacking and crushing him as he had boasted, made a sort of treaty with him. Learning that Elizabeth's anger was aroused, he threw up his task, rushed back to England, burst all travel-

stained into the queen's chamber—and was promptly sent to the Tower. In 1601, when he had been released, he tried to raise an insurrection in London (which collapsed ignominiously) and paid the penalty on the scaffold.

The arrangement with Tyrone was rejected. A new commander Montjoy was taking active steps to isolate him in the north, when a Spanish expedition succeeded in landing at Kinsale in the south. Montjoy was equal to his task, shut the Spaniards up in Kinsale, routed the force which Tyrone was able to bring south in the hope of relieving it, and forced the place to surrender in 1602. So ended the last Spanish attempt to use Ireland as a field for taking action against England. And yet, so skilful a diplomatist was Tyrone that he succeeded in obtaining pardon and escaping any punishment. His claim that he had always been the champion of order, always loyal to the Government until its unwarranted suspicions induced it to attack him unjustly, was a claim so difficult to answer, that he was even reinstated. But the suspicion of his treasonable intentions was as strong as ever. Such was the position in Ireland at the hour of Elizabeth's death.

WHEN the great Armada crisis was past, new questions began to agitate men's minds, questions which had been laid aside when the need for national unity in the face of a great danger made everything else comparatively unimportant. The religious settlement had so far served its purpose, but it had by no means satisfied the more ardent Protestants. Parliament and the country generally had been too loyal to the queen, and the queen's policy had been so much in agreement with public opinion that there had been no sharp quarrel, though there had been occasional friction, over the right of Parliament to discuss and advise. There had been no extravagance in public expenditure, but rather an economy which was even niggardly, so that any money which was asked for had been readily granted. But when the crisis passed, friction increased. It was only personal loyalty to the queen—now advanced in years—who had led the country through the crisis, which postponed a conflict between the claims of Parliament and the claims of the Crown.

In 1598 Philip II. died; and Henry IV. was securely established on France and the throne of France—as a Catholic himself, but the champion of toleration in his own country and of the Protestant cause outside it, on friendly terms with Protestant England, and

thoroughly determined to resist aggressive and intolerant Catholicism everywhere. In the Netherlands the independence of the United Provinces had become all but a certainty since the Armada and the death of Parma in 1592.

Actually the closing years of the great queen's reign are mainly occupied with eternal intrigues and plots, Jesuit plots, papalist plots, personal plots and counter-plots among the politicians who The had succeeded the older generation of statesmen, which it Succession. is not worth while to unravel here. After the fall of Essex the two principal rivals were Robert Cecil and Walter Raleigh. The actual question of the hour was, who should succeed Elizabeth on the throne? She had all through her reign flatly refused to make election among the possible claimants; even the Will of Henry VIII. was not decisive of the question. There were Catholics who wanted a Catholic, Catholics and half-Catholics who would be satisfied with a Protestant pledged to tolerate the Catholics; and there were several possible candidates. There was the young king of Spain's sister, the Infanta Isabella, who was married to an Austrian archduke. There was Arabella Stewart, the unhappy Darnley's niece. There was Lord William Seymour, the grandson of Katharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane. And finally there was the obviously legitimate heir, James VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary Stewart and Darnley.

The one thing in the way of James's accession was the prejudice against making king of England a king of Scots born and bred beyond the Border with ideas of the royal authority which were Robert Cecil. not those of the English people. The other three candidates named were mere figureheads for parties who hoped to make use of them for their own ends. Cecil, an astute wire-puller, played with all the factions, but kept all the wires in his own hands—meaning James to succeed, but to feel that he owed his succession to Cecil himself in spite of the intrigues of his rivals. When the old queen lay on her death-bed in March 1603, it was Cecil who had made all the arrange- The Queen's ments for announcing and securing the accession of the death, 1603. king of Scots. It was Cecil, if it was any one, who induced the dying Elizabeth to approve by signs his nomination as her heir; and the breath was hardly out of her body when Robert Carey was galloping on the North Road to carry to Edinburgh the tidings that England and Scotland had a single king.

VII. The Church : 1558-1603.

The Problem—England—Scotland.

WE in England to-day call ourselves a 'Christian country' and most of us call ourselves Protestants, meaning that we are Christians but not Roman Catholics. Some members of the Church of England however say that they are not Protestants but Catholics who have rejected the errors of the Roman branch of the Catholic Church which acknowledges the Pope as its head; they insist on following many doctrines and practices which the Church of England permits but does not enjoin, and which other members of the Church call 'papistical.' Others again are outside the Church of England altogether, and belong to one or another of the 'Free Churches' which all have one thing in common, or rather are agreed in not having one thing—bishops. And we are all free to belong to any one of these bodies, or, if we choose, to none at all.

So that it is not easy for us to understand how differently these matters were looked at in the sixteenth century and even as lately as one hundred years ago. In the sixteenth century, very nearly every one believed that everybody ought to have the same religion, to believe the same doctrines and follow the same practices—though there were the most violent differences of opinion as to what the doctrines and practices were which ought to be followed. Until then, all Christendom except the Eastern or Greek Church had suppressed differences of opinion by accepting the declaration of Popes or General Councils as deciding what opinions were lawful, and punishing the teaching of what was unlawful as heresy. But after Luther's challenge to the Papacy, half Western Christendom denied the Pope's right, or that of any General Council which could be brought together, to settle these questions.

If the Pope's authority was gone, then each state must settle—or leave unsettled—what should be permitted as lawful and what punished as unlawful within its own borders; yet all the time more than half the people held by the Pope's authority. If the lay rulers did so too, as was the case more often than not, the thing was simple—the Pope's authority was backed and enforced by the Government. It compelled all its subjects to accept what the Pope authorised, and nothing else; if they disobeyed, it punished them, as Mary Tudor did. But if the lay rulers denied the authority

f the Pope, like Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, who was to decide what was to be held lawful or unlawful? The only possible answer was—the Government itself, or the Clergy under the supervision of the Government.

The Clergy were the people duly and regularly appointed and set apart to administer the Sacraments, to conduct the services of the Church, to give the people religious instruction, and generally to look after their spiritual welfare. They became Clergy by the ceremony of Ordination as deacons and then as priests and finally with a superior authority as bishops. That had certainly been the universal rule for much more than a thousand years, and, as some hold, from the time when the Apostles were the first bishops.

The Clergy.

THAT system was continued in England, while the bishops were selected by the Crown, and the person chosen by the Crown was then formally elected by those Clergy of the Diocese who were called the 'Chapter.' All the Church 'livings' and 'endowments' except those which had been seized by the Government under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were given to the Clergy to appoint, as before; the power of appointment to a living being sometimes in the hands of a bishop, sometimes of a corporation such as a college at Oxford or Cambridge, sometimes of a private person who was said to have the living in his gift. But no one could be appointed unless he had been ordained, and every one who was ordained was obliged to obey the ordinances of the Church and the lawful authority of his bishop.

2. The Church of England.

The doctrines and practices which were to be permitted or enjoined were shaped by the bishops in the Prayer-book and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion which are printed in the Prayer-book and were made law by Act of Parliament; and the Clergy were required to teach and to practise everything that was enjoined, but forbidden to teach or to practise anything that was not permitted. So much could be regarded as being permitted but not enjoined that people who held very widely different opinions, from the doctrine of the Real Presence (but not that of Transubstantiation) in the Holy Communion to the doctrine that the service was in some way a necessary 'Means of Grace' only, could be ordained with a clear conscience; though it was still possible to differ as to the lawfulness of some practices and opinions, and many persons who accepted the Prayer-book would still have preferred to

see some things forbidden which were permitted or enjoined, and some permitted or enjoined which were forbidden.

No clergyman was allowed to conduct, and no layman was allowed to attend, gatherings where other services were used than those authorised by the Prayer-book; though for a long time after Elizabeth's accession no one troubled to interfere if the thing was done quite privately. Every one was required to attend the services of the Church, and to pay fines for missing them. This appeared to most people a satisfactory way of preserving a decent uniformity to which no one could reasonably object except Papalists who believed in Transubstantiation and therefore could not be satisfied by the English Communion Service, and extreme Protestants who found 'idolatry' in any ceremonies for which there did not seem to them to be a warrant in the words of the Scriptures. Still many such old ceremonial observances were retained—the ring in the marriage service, the Sign of the Cross in baptism, the wearing by the clergy of particular robes or 'vestments' in different parts of the services—which many people disliked as savouring of 'Papisty.' And as the country grew more and more inclined to regard Papistry as implying treason, the number of those who objected to everything which could be called papistical increased; and they found it more and more difficult to 'conform' with a clear conscience to the rules of the Church. Without

Puritans. breaking away from it they began to call for more reforms, purifying the Church of these 'superstitions'—which caused them afterwards to be called Puritans, though the name was only beginning to be given to them in Elizabeth's time. On the other hand there were others who looked upon these things as of real importance and as at least helping the spirit of reverence; and these were quite determined that there should be no giving way to such demands.

Now the Jesuit mission in 1581 made the country determined to punish Roman Catholicism more vigorously than before, because of its treasonable character. One result of it therefore was a more severe persecution of persistent Catholics, but another was a more severe persecution of the Puritans. For Elizabeth knew that however harsh she might be to any Protestants they were bound to be loyal to her, lest a Catholic should get the crown; but she was very anxious to preserve for herself the loyalty of people who might be tempted to become Papalists openly or secretly, and therefore she wished them to believe that they would always find the things they valued in the Church of England 'as by law established,' and that

extravagant Protestantism would not be tolerated. And the effect of both persecutions was to stiffen both the thorough-going Roman Catholics and the extreme Protestants in their opinions, and to drive some of each into exile, the latter in the very Protestant Netherlands, the former usually in France.

Now differences of opinion about 'vestments' (known as the Vestarian Controversy) and ceremonies might never have become very serious. But the extreme Protestants who pinned their Anti-Prelacy to the words of Scripture, and counted the traditions—

however long established—which had no scriptural warrant as papistical, were more often than not in agreement with the teaching of John Calvin and the 'Geneva school': and one of the things which they did not find in the Bible (though other people did) was the government of the Church by bishops. 'Prelacy' or 'Episcopacy,' as they called such government, was in their eyes bound up with 'Papistry,' whereas most of the clergy believed that it had been divinely ordained from the beginning. Calvinists were every whit as convinced of the divine authority of the 'Ministry' as any kind of Catholic was of the divine authority of the Church and quite as sure that they—not kings or parliaments—were the judges of religious truth. But bishops were not included in their idea of the ministry. They wanted to have Prelacy abolished, and many—perhaps most of them—wanted in its place the Presbyterian or Calvinistic system of Church government.

But Elizabeth liked forms and ceremonies; also she desired that all established authorities should be held in the highest respect; and above all, under the prelatical system she could control the Church. The Queen's view. Because the appointment of the bishops was in her own hands, whereas under the Presbyterian system which placed the management of the Church in the hands of popular assemblies, the Crown could have little control, if any. Therefore the attack on Episcopacy which took its bitterest shape in a set of pamphlets by one who called himself Martin Marprelate in 1589) was to her intolerable; and the bishops themselves became more and more severe in suppressing the more advanced Protestants among the clergy and in insisting that the ceremonies—even when it was not clear that they were positively ordered—should be strictly observed. And this was done through the ecclesiastical 'Court of High Commission' which had been authorised by Act of Parliament, and could impose arbitrary penalties; like the Court of Star Chamber in Henry VII.'s reign which was still employed for the trial of various offences.

THE religious question is going to play so important a part in the relations between England and Scotland during the next hundred years—

3. In when each country had its own government but both
Scotland. were under one crown—that we must see how it had been getting itself worked out in the northern country in the last half of the sixteenth century.

In England the Reformation had been introduced for political reasons by Henry VIII., meeting with no great favour from the people at large. It had been pushed forward against their will by Somerset and Northumberland, and if Mary had not lighted the fires of persecution at Smithfield, Protestantism would probably have been unpopular when Elizabeth came to the throne. But in Scotland half the Lowlands had adopted the Calvinistic creed in defiance of their rulers, and the nobles had taken up the Protestant cause partly out of opposition to the Crown, partly in hope of despoiling the Church as England had been doing.

With English help the nobles defeated Mary of Lorraine's Government, and the rule fell into the hands of the Lords of the Congregation. But they had won, because the Scottish people had taken
John Knox. zealous grip of the stern religion taught by the reforming preachers headed by John Knox. While the bishops were on the Catholic side, the bulk of the clergy were fervid reformers of the Geneva school, thoroughly convinced that the Kirk should be under their own direction and that they had a divine authority higher than that of any 'temporal' governors, queen or nobles. They expressed their opinion with the freedom of Samuel or Elijah talking to Saul or Ahab. But the nobles kept their grip of the lands they had taken, and it was the nobles—who called themselves Protestants, but loved the ministers no better than the old clergy—who kept control of the government.

John Knox died while King James was still a child. But the boy detested and feared the men who succeeded him in the leadership of
James VI. the preachers, George Buchanan and Andrew Melville, who set up the Presbyterian system though the bishops did not wholly disappear. The teaching and the system suited the temper of the Scottish people, but were hateful to James, who not only found himself without control, but liable to be lectured, not to say bullied, by Melville and others; while he was also always more or less at the mercy of the group of nobles who had captured power for the time. Thus from the time when he grew up, he kept three principal purposes in

w—to succeed Elizabeth on the throne of England, to revive the power of bishops, and to play off the rival factions of nobles against each other and against the ministers, till he could make himself master of them all.

In all three aims his cunning gave him either complete or considerable success. But, do what he would, he could not break down the Calvinistic zeal of the clergy or the attachment of the people to the Presbyterian system; though he managed to make a sort of blend of Presbyterianism with Episcopacy.

VIII. Social: 1558-1603.

Commerce—Industry and the Poor—Law—War.

DOWN to the fourteenth century, England had been almost entirely an agricultural country: that is, the very great majority of the population had been engaged in tilling the soil, while the women ^{1.} Before home did the spinning and weaving of the materials ^{the Tudors.} the rough cloths and clothing needed for ordinary domestic purposes; richer people buying finer materials from the foreigners who came to England with goods to sell. In the fourteenth century she began to be in part a commercial country: that is, more people became engaged in selling English goods to the foreigner and buying foreign goods for sale in England, while they also began to make some of the goods themselves, both for their own use and to sell abroad. It was no use for them to sit at home and wait for the foreigner to come and buy or sell—they began pushing their way into the foreign towns which were centres of trade. Thus by the reign of Henry VII. their commerce was already large, though it was still not so large as that of the old commercial cities in the empire, or in the Netherlands, or in Italy.

All through the Tudor period this commerce was increasing; the growth of shipping and the growth of commerce went together; efforts were always being made to keep the carrying of goods to ^{Advance} and from England for English ships. By the end of ^{under} Elizabeth's reign, England was ready to fight for her place ^{Tudors.}

not only as one of the commercial states but as the greatest of them all, though she was still behind the Dutchmen, and had not yet broken into great trade with the East, either of the Mediterranean states through the Levant (the east end of the Mediterranean), or of the Portuguese

through the Indian Ocean. The great growth of her shipping and her naval power in the reign of Elizabeth made it possible for her at the same time as the Dutch—when the seventeenth century began—to compete for the ocean commerce with the East, and to secure almost to herself the products which could be extracted from North America. She was on her way, but only on her way, to become the leading commercial state.

She succeeded, partly because her ships enabled her to go and buy goods where they were most easily produced and therefore cheapest, and to sell them where they could not be obtained from any one else and so commanded a high price; she could 'buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market,' whereby she grew wealthy. But this was not enough. She needed to produce goods to exchange for those which she wished to buy. In the Middle Ages, what she had produced in order to exchange had been mainly wool and hides; but before the Middle Ages were over, she was beginning to add to these cloth. And the cloth industry after this advanced rapidly (what is otherwise called 'textiles,' woven fabrics, woollens, silks, and so on, though not as yet linens and cottons), partly because great numbers of Flemish weavers fled to England and settled there to escape the tyranny under Alva, and the skill of the English weavers was increased by what they learnt from the Flemings.

Now when we were speaking of the unhappy condition of the rural districts under the Tudors before Elizabeth, we saw that the principal cause of it was the ever-increasing number of men who could not get work on the land where they had been born and bred, chiefly from ploughland being taken up for the pasturing of sheep. And we saw that, so far, this unemployment got very little relief from the new industries. But by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the rural conditions had become much less serious. The big proprietors had got as much land under sheep as they wanted, and it paid them better to keep land under the plough because more corn was wanted; so that the land was providing more employment for labour. And the new industries also were giving more employment.

They had been slow in doing this at first. People wanted to start their businesses in a trade-centre, a big town where there were likely to be plenty of buyers within reach. But the big towns were Town regulation. boroughs, where there had once been a gild-merchant with the legal power of regulating trade, and then the powers of the genera

merchant had passed on to the separate craft-gilds. The craft-gilds did useful things; they insisted on a decent standard of work, fixed wages and hours in the borough, and gave help to sick members. Just like other people, the members of each 'craft' wanted to keep the business to themselves and to shut out competition. No one was allowed to practise the trade in which there was a craft-gild without being admitted a member, and the gilds had very tight regulations about admitting members. Other people who were not admitted could not set up in the smaller places which were not boroughs with charters, could not make regulations for themselves which could be enforced by the law, and so had no craft-gilds; and this kept new trades and old trades from growing as fast as otherwise they might have done.

Then when the Crown was seizing Church property, it also found a good excuse for seizing so much of the craft-gilds' property that they lost their power and wealth, which caused a good deal of distress in the boroughs (though of course it had nothing whatever to do with the distress in the country districts). And then in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the State stepped in. The regulation of trade could not be left to the gilds of each town; and the State made laws, the chief of which was the 'Statute of Apprentices,' which were to be followed everywhere alike. The new law applied only to trades of which a list was made; for other trades, there were no regulations which had to be obeyed, and any one could take them up wherever and whenever he chose. When there were no restrictions, the trades grew much more quickly and could provide much more employment, and thus the depression was to a great extent relieved.

At the same time, the Statute of Apprentices served some of the same useful purposes as the old craft-gilds. It kept incompetent workman-ship out of the listed trades by still allowing no one to set up on his own account without having passed through an apprenticeship of several years' training in the trade; while, as a general rule, it made it much easier than it had been before to become an apprentice and learn the trade properly.

All this however was still not enough to relieve the poverty of the poorest classes. In the old days, at the worst the charity of the monasteries had kept the country-folk going in bad seasons, and the gilds had kept the sick labouring-folks going in the boroughs. Now that the monasteries and the gilds were gone, something had to be done to supply their place. The

End of the
craft-gilds.

State
regulation.

The poor.

poor who were poor through no fault of their own ought to be helped; but if charity was to be bestowed upon any one and every one who was not earning wages, there would be plenty who would prefer living in idleness at some one else's expense to earning an honest livelihood by their own labour. The difficulty was to find some way of helping the deserving poor who really could not earn their living, without encouraging wastrels and rogues in dishonest idleness. Experiments were being made all through Elizabeth's reign, and at the end of it, in 1601, the experience which had been gathered

The Poor Law. was given shape in the Elizabethan Poor Law. In every parish, 'Guardians' of the poor and a poorhouse were set up. Any one who was destitute could go into the poorhouse and get food and shelter for nothing if age or infirmity made them really unable to work; but if they were fit to work, they would be given something or other which they would have to do in return for the food and shelter. Thus no able-bodied person who *could* find employment outside would be tempted to go into the workhouse instead, but no one need actually starve. The money for supporting the poorhouse was obtained by a compulsory contribution called the poor-rate levied upon every one who had property in the parish, according to the amount of the property. With slight alterations, this continued to be the law for a couple of centuries.

DURING the sixteenth century the way in which armies fought became completely changed. In the Wars of the Roses, armour was at its heaviest, and the English long-bow was still in full use;

3 Fighting. but Flodden was the last great battle in which the archers played an important part. The hand-gun or arquebus was coming into use, and its bullets pierced the armour which even the 'cloth-yard shaft' could not penetrate. It was English arquebusiers, not archers, that broke up the Scottish troops at Pinkie, thirty-four years after Flodden. And to some extent field-guns as well as siege-guns were beginning to come into action.

And so we find that in Elizabeth's time the armour even of the cavalry was not nearly so heavy as it had been a hundred years before, and the body-armour of the foot soldiers was only in arms. tended to give some protection against the slash of the sword or the thrust of the pike. Instead of troops of mail-clad men mixed with troops of archers, an infantry group was made up partly of pike-men, partly of arquebusiers, neither of them wearing much

ly armour. The pike-men, who charged or met a charge, carried
ords as well as pikes, and light round shields or bucklers. For the day
d not yet arrived when the musket could be converted into a pike by
ing a bayonet on to it, so that every musketeer was a pikeman and
ry pikeman a musketeer, the actual pike disappearing altogether.
The value of quickness of movement and the play of artillery had been
own by the archers at Agincourt; a hundred and fifty years later it
s realised that they counted for more than weight in hand-to-hand
hting. And it was in fact by applying the same principle to fighting
sea that the English defeated the Armada and completely changed
e established methods of naval warfare.

IX. Literature : 1558-1603.

English Literature before Elizabeth—The Outburst of Song—
Elizabethan Prose.

' the spacious days of Great Elizabeth ' it was good to be an English-
n. They were adventurous days when Englishmen felt the throb
life and youth in their veins, the gladness of active living, 1. Eliza-
e joy of battle (which is not the joy of slaying, an evil bethan
ng, but the joy of facing and overcoming danger and vitality.
eulties, a good thing), the power of achievement, the delight in
auty, more vividly than at any other time or than any other people
cept the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. That feeling found expres-
n in the great deeds of the English mariners, and not less wonderfully
unexpectedly in English literature. The Greece which gave birth
the men who fought and won against huge odds or fought and died
ainst overwhelming odds at Marathon and Salamis and Thermopylae,
ve birth also to the mighty poets from Aeschylus to Aristophanes, and
e supreme sculptors who raised the Parthenon. The England which
re Drake and Raleigh and Grenville bore also Spenser and Marlowe,
akespeare and Francis Bacon.

In the Middle Ages there had been little enough of English or indeed
any other literature outside of Italy. For writing or reading books
ere was no opportunity outside the monasteries where Literature
n's minds were turned to the next life, and the joy and before the
auty and passion of this life seemed to be temptations Tudors.
the Devil. Men sang only snatches of song, because what they
ng was rarely written down and preserved longer than it remained

in the minds of men who had heard but not read the words. As for literature of a learned sort, that was always written in Latin (which was a language used and understood by all men of learning throughout Europe) so that it might be readily understood by the learned of other countries.

The printing presses which were being set up in all lands before the end of the fifteenth century made it easy to multiply copies of a book which had once been written. Also the regular types were much easier to read than the handwriting of the author or of a copyist. The man who wrote a book had a much better chance of getting it read, and by many more people, since there were now far more people who took the trouble to learn reading and writing. Outside of Italy, the one country which already really had a literature of its own, many people began to write books; but in England during the Early Tudor times they were mostly concerned with questions of religion in which numbers of people were becoming keenly interested.

The one notable exception—apart from historical chronicles which soon became popular—was Sir Thomas More's book called *Utopia*, the land of Nowhere; though it was actually written in Latin and was only done into English after More himself was dead. Sir Thomas was one of the most learned men and the most acute thinkers of his day; he was also not only the kindest of mortals, but happily endowed with a delicate humour and a pretty wit which makes his book very pleasant reading as well as very wise. In it he describes an imaginary and impossible country where all men do their fair share of work and have their fair share of time for play because no one wants either more or less than his fair share of either, and all live under equal laws. This country has been discovered by a voyager in hitherto unexplored seas, whose experience enables him to criticise very shrewdly the way in which the states of the Old World, and England in particular, are governed—so that we to-day can learn more from him about social conditions in the Early Tudor times than from almost any other source.

This was the one really great book written in those times by an Englishman. As we get near the middle of the century, we find new experiments being made in English poetry, new forms of verse—generally love-poems—copied from the Italians by Surrey (who was beheaded by Henry VIII.) and Wyatt; verse-making is becoming a fashionable accomplishment. The beauty and melody of the English language is being displayed in Cranmer's Prayer-

book—the mere sound of the prayers is exquisite if they are finely read and its vigour in the racy and unconventional sermons of Hugh Latimer, who was burnt as a heretic, and in the book of Fox who wrote the history of the Martyrs.

ALL these were like the first rays of light which herald the dawn, ‘the earliest pipe of half-awakened birds.’ Morning is breaking, but the sun has not risen, though his light is spreading. More than 2. The out-
 half Elizabeth’s reign was to pass before a single work—burst.
 any songs alone excepted—had appeared which would give its author rank among the immortals. The writers were still only feeling their way. And then the sun flamed in the heavens, and the full chorus of the birds burst forth. The English language, of which the powers had hardly been suspected, suddenly took its place as the greatest of all literary tongues, save that of the ancient Greeks. Among the poets, Edmund Spenser led the way, first with the pastoral music of the *Shepherd’s Calendar*, and then with the gorgeous and tender imaginings, the glowing colours and rich harmonies of his great allegory the *Faerie Queen*. Songs and sonnets and poems of passion were poured forth from scores of singers with a lovely magic in the use of words which has never been surpassed. But the special form which the Elizabethans prized upon for expressing themselves was the drama.

A drama is a story not told by the poet in his own words but enacted by the characters he creates whose words he puts into their mouths. It is written that it may be read, but more particularly **The drama.**
 that it may be acted—seen and heard with the eyes and ears as well as in the imagination of the reader. The poet can get an audience for his actors when he cannot get readers for his books; to this day, what most folk know about Shakespeare’s works comes from what they have seen acted on the stage much more than from what they have read for themselves. There are other ways of telling stories, but this particular way had been brought to great perfection by the Greeks; and the Romans had done their best to follow that example. But when the drama had died out. In the Middle Ages stories were still told in poetry, in ballads and ‘romances,’ but the **Mediaeval**
 clergy thought that acting them was a bad thing. They **drama.**
 condemned everything of the sort except what were called ‘Misteries’ ‘Moralities’ or ‘Miracle Plays’ which presented a story from the Bible or the lives of the saints, or had characters which were like no human beings but stood for particular vices and virtues. No poet

could write plays of that sort. Still these 'Misteries' were popular, and beside them grew up 'Masques' in which stories were presented by actors but not told—they were plays without words, which gave chances for gorgeous or grotesque pageantry.

Then came the revival of learning and the increased study of ancient Latin and Greek literature. The Italians began to imitate the Latin plays; schoolboys in England had to study them; and the first English comedy was written in the reign of Edward VI. by a schoolmaster who made up an English story for his boys to act, from a Latin play. He called it *Ralph Roister Doister*. A few years later, when Elizabeth had been two years on the throne, came the first English tragedy, *Gorboduc*. We should call both of them rather absurd now, but they were the beginning.

People were no longer afraid of doing what the clergy did not approve. An audience could be got together in the yard of an inn for a performance by strolling players who had got hold of something which could be acted, even if the players were disreputable and the 'poor scholars' who knocked up something for them to act were no better. There was a vagabond sort of living to be made out of it. A gentleman of taste might write something for the amusement of himself and his friends—and then there were scenes from the historical chronicles of England which could be commended even by the clergy because of their educational value. The stuff for the most part and for some years was poor enough. But some of the writers were clever: and some of the nobility found entertainment in occasionally patronising them. Some companies were licensed as the 'Servants' of this or that nobleman; and in 1576 the first theatre was built expressly for the performance of stage-plays.

And then one of the London companies was joined—according to tradition, as a sort of handy-man—by a country youth from Stratford-on-Avon named William Shakespeare; and another youth of genius, Kit Marlowe, a university man who was just Shakespeare's age—twenty-three—wrote a terrific melodrama full of blood and thunder called *Tamburlaine* (1587). But in spite of its fustian, there were passages in it and ideas in it which showed that its author was a great poet. Marlowe died—in a tavern brawl—before he was thirty; but the crowning scene in his tragedy of *Faustus* is one of the most tremendous things in literature. And from Marlowe's ashes Shakespeare rose.

Shakespeare had already begun to write plays, probably in con-

unction with Marlowe, certainly under his influence, when the latter was killed in 1593. Of the next eighteen years there was hardly one in which two or three plays from his hand did not appear. Shakespeare's plays set the English drama on a level with the drama of Ancient Athens, and Shakespeare himself above any single dramatist who has ever written, because no one else has ever been the equal of the greatest both in tragedy and in comedy. And while Shakespeare was living and working there grew up a host of other dramatists, 'Elizabethans,' though some of them had hardly begun to write when Elizabeth died: Ben Jonson the scholar, Middleton, Ford, Massinger, Beaumont, and Fletcher, and many more.

FROM 'Marlowe's mighty line' to the dainty measures of Shakespeare's elfin songs and the woven harmonies of Spenser's stanza the perfection of the English language for all the uses of a poet were manifested in Shakespeare's lifetime, which began and ended a few years after the accession and the death of the great queen. English prose did not leap to such sudden perfection. Every one can see that the writing of verse is an art; it is not so easy to see that the writing of prose may be made an art also. The Elizabethans did see it, and their attempts to make an art of it led some of them into curious vagaries and affectations, which found their way into verse too—a sort of playing with words which Shakespeare sometimes indulged in, and sometimes held up to ridicule. It was a fashion of the day, set by John Lyly in a book called *Euphues*, whence it is commonly known as Euphuism. But apart from these eccentricities, the Elizabethan prose has a charm of its own which reached its highest perfection early in the next reign with the 'Authorised Version' of the Bible, which had its foundation in the earlier version made in the reign of Henry VIII.

Sir Walter Raleigh, soldier, sailor, and statesman, was also a master of the pen who wrote history besides making it. His *History of the World*, written in the next reign when he was a prisoner in the Tower, is almost forgotten—few people probably have read it; but it was a book which another great history-maker, Oliver Cromwell, commended next to his Bible. But there is another name which must not be passed by. Francis Bacon, rather older than Shakespeare and rather younger than Raleigh, had written little when Elizabeth died; but those few short essays were masterpieces which no one can imitate; essays in which

3. Prose.

Euphuism.

Raleigh.

Bacon.

each sentence tells or suggests as much as other men can put into a whole page. In the next reign he wrote a great deal—some people admire him so much that they think no one but he could have written Shakespeare's plays ; when he did write verse however, it was the one thing which he did badly. There were few subjects he did not handle, and handle with deeper insight and more knowledge than any other man of his day, for he 'took all knowledge to be his province.' But his writing was done for the 'Advancement of Learning' which is the name of one of his books, and his great work the *Novum Organum* was written in Latin besides having a Latin title. It placed him in the front rank of the world's greatest thinkers, like his thirteenth-century namesake Roger Bacon ; but it can only be mentioned here without further comment.

CHRONOLOGY

1558-1603.

ENGLAND

- 1558-1603. ELIZABETH.
- 1558-67. Shan O'Neill.
- 1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
- 1560. Treaty of Leith.
- 1568-87. Mary Stewart in England.
- 1569. Northern Rising.
- 1570. Papal Bull declares Elizabeth deposed.
- 1571. Ridolfi Plot.
- 1577. Drake sails on his voyage round the world.
- 1580. Desmond Rebellion. Drake's return.

SCOTLAND AND EUROPE.

- 1559. Francis II. and Mary Stewart, king and queen of France.
- 1560-74. Charles IX., king of France. Catherine de' Medici.
- 1561-68. *Mary in Scotland.*
- 1562. Huguenot wars begin.
- 1563. Council of Trent ends.
- 1567. Alva in the Netherlands. *Murder of Darnley. James VI., king of Scots. Regency.*
- 1571. Defeat of Turks at Lepanto.
- 1572. Revolt of the Netherlands. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
- 1574. Henry III., king of France.
- 1579. The Union of Utrecht.

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| 1583. Throgmorton's plot. | 1584. Death of Alençon and William of Orange. |
| 1585. Raleigh's first colony. England and Spain at war. | Henry of Navarre heir-presumptive in France. |
| 1586. Babington's plot. | |
| 1587. Mary Stewart executed. Drake's Cadiz expedition. | |
| 1588. The Armada. | 1589. Henry iv. in France. War of succession. |
| 1590. The 'Faerie Queen.' | |
| 1593-1615. Shakespeare's Plays. | |
| 1599. Essex in Ireland. | 1598. End of French war. |
| 1600. East India Company's Charter. | Edict of Nantes. |
| 1601. The Poor Law. | Death of Philip II. |
| 1603. Death of Elizabeth. | |

STATUTES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE **Act of Supremacy**, 1559, declared the Crown to be supreme in religious as well as in civil causes, authorised the creation (later) of the Church Court of High Commission, and abolished the penal statutes against heresy.

The third **Act of Uniformity**, 1559, imposed penalties for conducting or attending unauthorised forms of service, and for failing to attend the regular Church services.

The **Statute of Apprentices**, 1563, regulated admission to a number of trades, which had hitherto been done only in the chartered boroughs by the craft-gilds. No one was allowed to set up for himself as a master in any of these trades, unless he had served for seven years as an apprentice under a master, so as to make sure that he really understood his business. The regulation of rural wages was now placed in the hands of the county magistrates, the Justices of the Peace.

The **Poor Law**, 1601, provided for the maintenance of people who were unable to work or willing to work but unable to find employment. Parish workhouses were set up under control of the magistrates, where such persons could be taken in, housed, and fed, but were required to do such work as was given them without other wages till they could find employment outside. No relief was given except to people who came to the workhouse,

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

WE have not hitherto heard of Justices of the Peace. They require explanation, because they are to play an important part in the government of the country districts, though they are no more concerned with politics than other judges. For the beginning of the institution, we have to go back as far as the reign of Edward III., when the king appointed 'lawful men,' gentlemen of good repute, as *custodes pacis*, keepers or guardians of the peace, in the shires—to arrest offenders and send them up for trial. Before the end of the reign—probably because of the disturbed state of the country after the Black Death—these 'Guardians' became 'Justices' of the Peace with authority to try smaller offences themselves. As they were selected as a matter of course from the landowners, the institution became popular with parliament which consisted chiefly of landowners; though they were always appointed by the Crown, not by any form of popular election. Their powers were frequently increased. As the Statute of Labourers after the Black Death tried to regulate agricultural wages, the business of fixing the wages was put in the hands of the new Justices. Then the Justices of the County were required to meet once a quarter—four times a year—in Quarter Sessions to hold courts of justice; but any two could sit to try minor offences—with a jury: for trial by jury was now thoroughly established, at the end of the fourteenth century. Then in the fifteenth century they were given power to try minor offences without a jury, while they still sent up more important or difficult cases to be tried at the assizes by the king's Judges. Thus much of what had been the work of the shire courts was passing into their hands, and general work of management as well as the trying of offenders was done at their Quarter Sessions. The institution was found to work so satisfactorily that their numbers were multiplied under the Tudors who understood the art of government, and in Elizabeth's reign they had become the people who were naturally entrusted with the regulation of rural wages and the administration of the new Poor Law, which had finally been made necessary by the suppression of the ancient houses of charity, the monasteries.

CHAPTER V

RIGHT DIVINE : 1603-1642.

I. Europe : 1598-1648.

Holland, Sweden, and the Empire—France under Henry IV.—Richelieu—
The Thirty Years' War.

THE death of Elizabeth and the accession of James I. makes 1603 a date which is one of the landmarks in the history of our Commonwealth, because England and Scotland were at last joined together under one crown, never to be again separated. The Stuarts had already reigned in Scotland for more than two centuries, and they were to reign in England as well for more than another century.

In European history 1603 marks nothing in particular. The significant date is 1598, the year in which Philip II. died and the throne of Henry IV. in France had at last become secure. Philip had overshadowed Europe—though everywhere he had been beaten in his attempt to master it—for forty years. Henry was laying the foundations on which Cardinal Richelieu was to build up a French power which in the days of Henry's grandson Louis XIV. was incomparably greater than that of any other single state. The first division of our own Stewart period ends in the same year as the death of Richelieu—1642; so this is the period to be covered in the opening sketch of European affairs. What were the leading features of this period?

First, the Dutch Republic became an independent European state, and one which, small though it was, rose to first-rate importance because of its development of sea-power. For Holland, the turning-point had come with the defeat of the Armada, in which she had played a valuable part by bottling up the Netherlands ports. After the Armada, no more supplies from Spain could reach the Netherlands by sea; it gradually became clear first that the United Provinces could not be crushed and then that the Spaniards would not be able

to keep a foothold in them at all. In 1609 Spain gave up the struggle. The southern Catholic provinces remained the 'Spanish Netherlands' for another century; but the United Provinces, conveniently known as Holland, the name of the biggest of them, were an independent Protestant republic, whose head (called the Stadtholder) was almost always the Prince of Orange—though the principality of Orange was not in Holland at all but in Provence in the south of France. Holland was independent, though Spain would not formally admit it till 1642, just as England had formally refused to acknowledge the independence of Scotland till long after it had been actually won at Bannockburn.

The next point that strikes us is the unexpected appearance of Protestant Sweden as a Power to be reckoned with, though she had not resources enough in men or money to hold that position for quite a century. She won it for the time because she had a series of kings who were wonderful generals, and her men, well led, were magnificent troops. Moreover the first of these warrior-kings, Gustavus Adolphus, 'the Lion of the North,' was not only a great soldier and a great statesman, but a great man, a 'hero' in the truest sense.

The third feature is the terrific 'Thirty Years' War' which broke out in the empire in 1618 and was not actually ended till 1648, Germany meanwhile having been devastated from end to end. In part it was a war of religion in defence of Protestantism, with Protestant states ranged on one side and Catholic states on the other. Sweden joined in and played a leading part on the Protestant side, led first by the great Gustavus. England and Spain played on the fringes of it; France under Richelieu's guidance turned it to her own political advantage. Except the 'Great War' of the twentieth century, none since that time between civilised states has been waged with such unspeakable brutality and savagery.

After the Thirty Years' War, hostility between Protestants and Catholics still counted as one of the things which influenced international politics, but it became quite secondary to the clashing of interests in other fields—the desire of peoples to drive commercial rivals out of the field, and the desire of monarchs to add territories to those which they already possessed.

THE fourth feature was the progress of France, while the weakness of Spain was growing more manifest, and England, engrossed in the earlier stages of a great constitutional struggle, was ceasing to count. Henry iv.

laid down the principles of French policy. The Church of France, the Church which kept possession of the lands, buildings, revenues, and privileges of the churchmen of the past, was the Catholic Church; but the Huguenots were to be free to follow their own religion, and were to have privileges to give them security, the possession of certain towns—notably the great port of Rochelle—and the control of certain districts where they were in a large majority. This was established by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which ended the real ‘Wars of Religion’ in France. In what were afterwards called Wars of Religion, the Huguenots were not really fighting in defence of a persecuted faith; they were a political faction whose chiefs happened to profess Protestantism. Toleration but not equality of religion was usually the base principle of the Government.

Next, the Crown was to be made supreme, master of the nobles who still had too much of their old feudal power for the central government to enforce its authority. France was to be welded into a solid State, to be broken up neither by rival factions of nobles nor by a strife between religions each striving for mastery over the other. If the Crown was ‘worth a Mass,’ unity was worth toleration—but the Crown was not worth a Mass, unless it could make its authority emphatically felt.

Next, the danger to be faced abroad was the power of the Hapsburgs, the combined Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain (united by marriages and projected marriages as well as by descent). Of the two, Austria—that is, the empire—was the more to be feared. Henry knew very well that Spain was ‘decadent,’ failing; he had the appearance of power still, but the reality of it had almost departed, though she had not ceased to be dangerous. For nearly fifty years the Austrian House had been content to act as moderators, peace-makers, preserving the balance of interests in the empire by persuasion rather than force; but there were signs that they would take Spain’s place as the leaders of Catholic hostility to Protestantism and as claimants to the domination of Europe. The power of the Austrian Hapsburgs must not be allowed to increase. Protestant states were the natural allies for France to seek against a common foe.

In 1610 Henry was assassinated by a fanatic named Ravallac, at the moment when he was completing what was virtually a Protestant League against Hapsburg aggression; and for a time his work went to pieces. His heir Louis XIII. was a child; the

2. Henry IV.
in
France.

The French
Crown.

France
and the
Hapsburgs.

3. Richelieu.



EUROPE in 1618.

- Dominions of Spanish Hapsburgs.....
 Dominions of Austrian Hapsburgs.....
 French and Imperial Boundaries.....
 MI.= MILAN; P.=PARMA; M.=MODENA.

teen-mother, who became regent, was in the hands of nobles who were chafing under their loss of power, meant to recover their own independence, and neither understood nor cared for the schemes of the great Henry. But when Louis was old enough to act for himself he trusted the management of the State to the great minister Richelieu, who was the heir of Henry iv.'s ideas. For eighteen years, from 1624 to 1642, Richelieu ruled France. Like the great English cardinal a century before him, he worked to make the Crown all-powerful in his country, and his country more powerful than any other in Europe, mainly by his skill in diplomacy abroad, and at home by reducing the privileges of the nobles and if necessary striking down those who stood in the way. In pursuing those ends he was unscrupulous. Before he died he had broken, though he had not finally crushed, the power of the nobles, by whom he had more than once been all but broken himself. He had added fresh territories to France, and had planted in the minds of Frenchmen a conviction that their country had 'natural boundaries' of river and mountain to which they had a right to extend the French realm, at the expense of the empire and the Spanish Netherlands. He had fought and suppressed the Huguenots in France when they tried to win privileges which would have set them free from the control of the central government; but he had taken no vengeance on them. He had raised France to the first place among the European nations. And finally he knew that the great aim of his diplomacy had succeeded; the Thirty Years' War was not indeed ended, but there was one way in which it would certainly not end. It could not create a consolidated Germany, a solid Hapsburg empire dominating Europe.

The great struggle of the Thirty Years' War in Germany now requires our close and careful attention.

We must start with the question of Religion. The pacifications of Passau and Augsburg had been brought about in the fifties of the sixteenth century by Ferdinand of Austria who succeeded his brother Charles v. as emperor in 1556. The Lutheran and Catholic princes had agreed once more that the religion in each state of the empire should be that its own ruler chose. On those terms the peace had been kept. But now some of the Protestant princes had become Calvinists, not Lutherans, nothing had been said about Calvinists in the settlement—and Lutherans and Calvinists were nearly as hot against each other as

4. The religious settlement in Germany.

against the Catholics; though some of them saw that sooner or later they would have to stand together to resist a Catholic attack on the Protestants generally. And early in the seventeenth century it became pretty certain that there would soon be a Hapsburg emperor who would take the lead not as a moderator like Ferdinand I. and his son Maximilian II., but as a Catholic partisan. On each side therefore there were people working to get together a league, nominally in self-defence, but really to secure the upper hand for Catholics or for Protestants.

Of the six 'Electors' (besides the king of Bohemia) the three lay princes were Protestants—Saxony and Brandenburg who were The Bohem- Lutherans, and the Elector Palatine, a Calvinist. The
ian question. reigning emperor Matthias was also king of Bohemia. The next emperor would be his nephew Ferdinand of Carinthia, a zealous Catholic. If Ferdinand became king of Bohemia, there would be four Catholic votes to three Protestant in the Electoral Chamber: and Ferdinand would probably suppress the rights which the Protestants in Bohemia had secured for themselves. The Bohemian nobles claimed the right of electing their next king. They were tricked into electing Ferdinand, repudiated the election, revolted against Ferdinand's deputies (1618), and offered the crown of Bohemia to the Calvinist Elector Palatine, Frederick, who had recently married Elizabeth the beautiful daughter of James I. of England.

By accepting the crown, Frederick started the Thirty Years' War. Ferdinand who succeeded Matthias as emperor in 1619 fought him for
The war it, drove him out of Bohemia, and began to overrun his
begins, 1618. territories which lay in two separate halves called the Upper and Lower Palatinate. The Lutheran princes did not want to see the Calvinist Elector Palatine lord of Bohemia as well as of the Palatinate. They had not generally supported him. But now they began to fear that when the Palatinate was crushed, their turn would come next; and they started half-heartedly joining in, or threatening to join in, or merely putting forward plans for settlement.

Denmark was not in the empire, but its king, Christian, was duke of Holstein, and the dukedom made him one of the princes of the empire.
Intervention In 1625 Christian took the field on behalf of the Elector
of Denmark, Palatine. This, it seemed, might turn the scale in his
1625. favour against the emperor and his Catholic supporters, the 'Imperialists'; but on the other side a Bohemian nobleman (commonly called Wallenstein) obtained authority to raise an imperial army of his own. Christian was badly beaten, and threw up the

ht. But Wallenstein cared nothing for the religious question—he was ready to enlist Protestants as Catholics. What he meant to do was make Ferdinand the real master of all Germany, with his power resting on Wallenstein and Wallenstein's army; which was by no means the desire of the Catholic princes. They set their faces against him so resolutely, working on Ferdinand's religious sentiments, that Wallenstein had to retire in 1629. This was partly brought about by the diplomacy of Richelieu, to whose plans Wallenstein's success would have been a serious menace; and it was partly Richelieu who in 1630 brought into the field a new Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

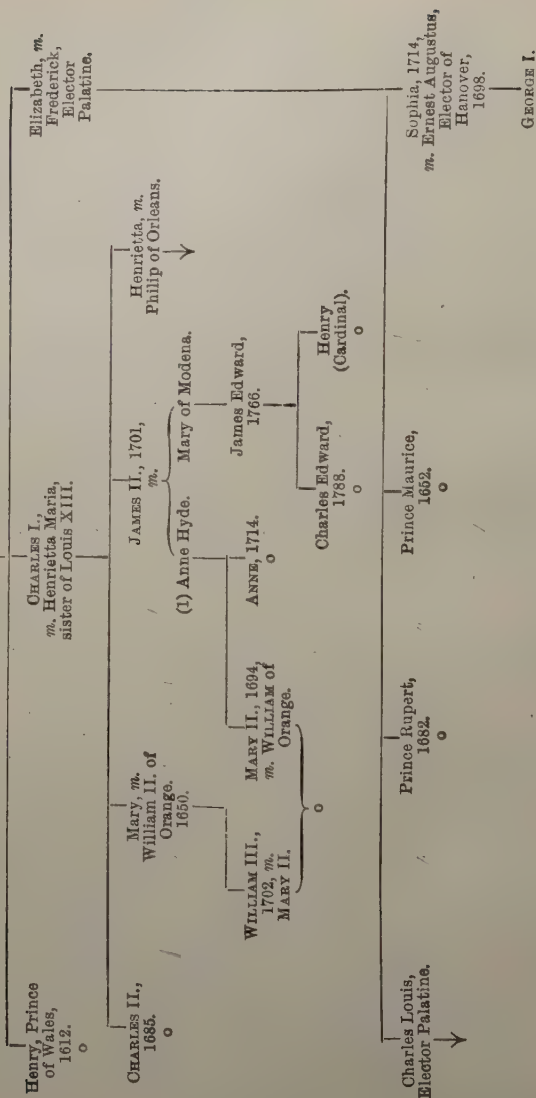
The Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony had hitherto stood apart. Gustavus forced them to come in, and in the campaigns of the next two years had won such brilliant victories that Ferdinand had to call in Wallenstein again to face him. In a great battle at Lützen, Gustavus fell in the hour of victory (1632). Wallenstein's own career was ended by his assassination in 1634. Gustavus's idea of a great Protestant union headed by Sweden had been shattered by his fall at Lützen. Wallenstein's death shattered his own idea of a solid German empire under a supreme emperor.

The war became a welter of struggles between princes who wanted to enlarge their own territories at their neighbours' expense, and Swedes and French who wanted to snatch their own advantages out of the chaos. When it was actually ended in 1648 by the 'Peace of Westphalia' France held Alsace, Sweden held Pomerania, half the Palatinate had gone to Bavaria, and there had been other readjustments of territory. The crown of Bohemia was no longer elective, but hereditary to the Hapsburgs.

But Catholics and Protestants had both learnt once for all that neither could crush the other and that the question was one about which it was useless to fight. And—the greater princes of the empire were no more under the emperor's control at the end than at the beginning. Practically he was no more than the most powerful among the princes. But the Hapsburg dominion—Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary—makes 'Austria' from this time the leading rival to France for ascendancy on the European continent.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I. AND VI.

JAMES I. AND VI.



↓ Left issue.

○ Left no legitimate issue.

Dates signify the year of death.

II. The Union of Crowns : 1603.

The Crowns united—The Countries compared—The Two First Kings.

By the accession of the king of Scotland to the throne of England the whole of the British Isles were at last united under one crown. Statesmen in both countries had for centuries felt that union ^{1. Union at} could be much better for both than hostility, if it could be ^{last.} brought about without making Scotland subject to England. The smaller and poorer country would not, for any advantages it might gain, surrender its liberty and submit to be governed by the larger and richer. The attempt of Edward 1. to force Scotland into union by conquest had only made the Scots more determined than ever to maintain their independence. Even the plan of uniting the crowns by marrying the king of England to the queen of Scotland had been strongly opposed in Scotland, though to do it by marrying the king of Scotland to the queen of England would have been another matter—is easy to see why. Now it was actually brought about because the great-grandfather of the reigning king of Scots had married an English princess a hundred years before.

Scotland was as independent as ever, but her king had become king of England. The Government and the Parliament of England had no control whatever over the Government of Scotland. ^{What it} but the two countries could not go to war with each other ^{meant.} any more while they had one king, because their one king could not go to war with himself. Nor could he make an alliance as king of Scotland with some one with whom, as king of England, he was at enmity. Scots could not make war on England, or English on Scotland, without making war on their own king. If the king of England went to war with France, he would no longer be troubled by the need of protecting his northern border from the armies of the king of Scots. In short, that the Union of Crowns did was to ensure peace between two still independent states. After another century, the union was to become closer.

Now a point which is curious and important must be noted. James claimed that he was king of England by Divine Right ; because there could be no question at all that by descent he was the ^{Hereditary} true heir of all the former kings and queens of England ^{Right.} whatever dynasty. Neither Mary Tudor nor Elizabeth could make any claim, for it might be argued that either or both were illegitimate, and quite certainly if one was legitimate the other was not. Edward VI.

and Henry VIII. could make the claim, but they had left no descendants. As descendant of Henry VIII.'s eldest sister, James was clearly the heir of Henry VII. and of his queen Elizabeth of York; whose title by descent from Edward III. could not be challenged, while her husband represented the rival dynasty of Lancaster which had come to the throne not by right of descent but by a parliamentary title. From Edward III. the line was clear back to William the Conqueror through Henry I.; and through his wife Edith, or her brother, James's ancestor David I. of Scotland, and their mother Margaret, to Alfred and Egbert. No monarch in Europe, not the king of France himself, had a royal pedigree going back so far without a flaw. Elizabeth could assert the divine authority of an anointed monarch, but she could never have pretended that her hereditary right to be anointed was divinely ordained. For a Stewart there was no difficulty at all about making the claim.

James made the claim—and see what follows. If the king is king by God's appointment, there cannot lie in any merely human institution like Parliament authority to depose him or to alter the line of succession. Not only his person but his authority is sacred, and no other authority can stand against it. It is only by his grace, by his permission, that any other authority exists at all. No king of England before, unless perhaps Richard II., had made such a claim; the Tudors had never claimed that the king had a right to make laws or impose taxes without consent of Parliament, or to imprison subjects at his own pleasure without trial or for offences not known to the law. There had never been a time when the people of England or their leaders would have admitted such a claim; in England, the rights of the Crown and of Parliament were fixed up to a certain point, definitely by written laws, or less definitely by custom (what we now call constitutional practice), leaving much which was vague and doubtful and could only be settled by common-sense and reasonable compromise if dispute should arise. Such questions were already becoming acute before Elizabeth's death. If the Crown attempted to act on the doctrine of Divine Right, and to override law and constitutional practice by its own authority, there would certainly be trouble. This would have been clear to any one brought up in England and familiar with English habits and institutions and the English way of looking at things; but James had been brought up in a foreign country, with quite different habits and institutions, among people who did not look at things in the English way at all.

THE idea of law, of the duty of obedience to a lawful but never to an unlawful authority, was so to speak in the bones of most Englishmen. They justified what some people called their piracy in the western seas on the ground that the authority asserted there by the Spaniards was unlawful. If they resisted the Government, it was on the plea that the Government was acting unlawfully. They objected to law-breakers, whether they were peasants, nobles, or king's officers. It was not so with the Scots. The word of the chief of a Border or Highland clan counted for more with his clansmen than the laws of the realm. The chiefs and lords themselves defied the king's law—and found others to back them up—whenever they felt strong enough. And as the king's law aimed at cutting down the customary rights of chiefs and lords, custom and the king's law in Scotland were perpetually at odds. It was only in the cities that men generally had learnt to value the law, and respect it because it was the law.

In England, the Crown was expected to act by consent of Parliament—at any rate to forgo measures to which Parliament, if a Parliament was sitting, was strongly opposed. In Scotland there was practically no Parliament; its place in the Government was taken by a committee called the Lords of the Articles, generally formed of the faction which at the moment had the biggest fighting forces at its disposal—which might or might not mean the king's faction. The only Scots kings who had some notion of the English idea of Parliament had been Robert Bruce, himself a baron of England when Parliament was just taking shape, and James I. who had been a prisoner in England for eighteen years—not the James VI. who became James I. of England in 1603. It was not easy for a Scots king to understand that a king of England must be careful to respect the feelings and opinions and privileges of Parliament. What he had required to do in his own country was to find means of making his own authority greater than that of either the nobles or the Calvinistic clergy—not to conciliate an assembly mainly composed of country gentlemen, and lawyers sprung from the same class. In Scotland there was no assembly of the Commons with a legal control over legislation and taxation, though the 'Estates,' which had started with some resemblance to the English Parliament, might meet from time to time.

Yet within the last fifty years a popular assembly had come into being which, without having the legal authority of Parliament, was able, as time went on, to make known and felt the will of the Scottish

people in general more thoroughly than the English Parliament itself. This was the General Assembly of the Kirk, ministers who were the The General clergy and elders who were laymen—not like Convocation Assembly. in England, a gathering of clergy only. Except for those, mainly in the Highlands, who remained attached to the old faith, the Kirk and the People of Scotland were one. To this day, when English folk speak of 'the Church' they very often mean the clergy only; 'the Kirk' never meant that to a Scotsman. Thus the Assembly, small as its legal powers were, could speak for the People.

This brings us to the marked difference between the two countries which in the eyes of James was all in favour of England. The Church, The Church. in either the narrow or the broad sense, was in England governed from above by the bishops who were appointed by the king. In Scotland it was governed by the ministers and elders or Presbyters who were chosen by the congregations, on a 'popular' or 'democratic' system, which was only modified by the retention of a few bishops. And the Scots, the great majority of them, were fervently attached to this Presbyterian system as well as to the doctrines of Calvin, whereas in England the majority preferred the Prelacy to which they were accustomed, while a large proportion of the Puritans liked Presbyterianism not very much better. The Presbyterians in England however, though they were in a minority, were a growing, active, and zealous minority. James hated and feared the Presbyterianism in the midst of which he had been brought up. The English system was just what he desired and would have liked to set up in his other kingdom; and because he came from Scotland, he was not less but more hostile to everything that favoured or seemed to favour Presbyterianism in England, and to everything that was opposed to episcopal authority.

WHILE we are discussing the momentous change made by the Union, we must not leave out of count the character of the first two Stewart 3. James I. sovereigns. King James was exceedingly clever, and and VI. exceedingly proud of his own cleverness. Consequently he was so convinced that he was always in the right that he could not believe that other people were really silly enough not to be convinced of it too, if they would only listen to his words of wisdom. On the other hand he was easily swayed not by the arguments but by the wishes of people of whom he was fond. Sometimes there was real wisdom in his cleverness. He saw much better than most of his English

or Scottish subjects how greatly it would benefit both to have a much closer union than merely that of the crowns, a union such as was not reached till more than a hundred years later. He saw that England and Spain, if they would work together, could keep the peace of Europe. What he did not see was that England and Spain could not work together, because what Spain wanted was not what England wanted. If Spain would have fallen in with his plans, Europe would have been much the better for it, but there was never the faintest chance that she would really do so—he was too clever to understand that she could be too stupid. So that to desire the support of Spain in a peace policy was wise, but to expect to get it was foolish. Henry IV. of France, one of the shrewdest of living men, called him ‘the Wisest Fool in Christendom.’

But he used his cleverness to get his own way in small things, not to carry through great things; it was for the most part not wisdom but craftiness—‘king-craft’ he called it himself. By it in Scotland he had got more power into his own hands than any king before him, but England needed the different kind of management which the Tudors had understood much better. They had ruled very much as they liked, by winning the confidence of the people they ruled. Neither James nor his son Charles I. saw that if they wanted their own way they must persuade the English people to trust them.

But there was this marked difference between James and Charles. James was desperately afraid of war. He would not press for his own way beyond the danger-point. When Charles had persuaded himself that he was acting within his ‘rights’ Charles I. he would not be held back by the risk or even the certainty of civil war. And so it was not till Charles was king that there came the real crash between the will of the Crown and the will of Parliament.

III. James I. and VI. : 1603-1625.

The Plots, 1603-5—The Puritans—Some Technical Terms explained—
Under Salisbury, 1603-12—After Salisbury, 1612-18—Closing Years, 1618-25.

JAMES was proclaimed king without opposition; Robert Cecil had seen to it that the navy was in secure hands, Howard of Effingham (now earl of Nottingham) being admiral, and that there were 1. The armed forces at hand in case of accidents. Various people Crown se- for various reasons would have preferred some one else, cured, 1603. but the some one would have been merely a figurehead for a faction

whose cause could inspire no enthusiasm and could attract no large body of supporters.

Discontented folk did in fact concoct a couple of stupid plots which could never have come to anything. They were known as the 'Main' **Main and Bye Plots.** (or principal) Plot and the 'Bye' or side Plot. (Some eighty years later there was a Rye House Plot, which people with sketchy minds are inclined to mix up with the Bye Plot for no reason at all except that the names are alike in sound.) The Bye Plot conspirators were partly Catholics and partly Puritans, who fancied that by making the new king prisoner they could force him to alter the penal laws against both of them. They tried to draw the Jesuits into it; but they, seeing that it was mere folly, found favour for themselves by making it known; and the thing collapsed. The Main Plot was more serious. Its aim was to assassinate James, marry his cousin Arabella Stewart (who stood next in succession to the throne by descent) to William Seymour (who was actually the heir according to Henry VIII.'s Will which had set aside the offspring of his elder sister Margaret), and set the pair on the throne. Probably the chief conspirator, Cobham, merely wanted power for himself—with puppet monarchs in his own hands—and the ruin of Cecil in whose hands James would certainly place himself. But he was no match for that crafty politician, who brought him down, and Raleigh with him. That Raleigh had countenanced the plot in which Cobham had sold his soul to Spain is incredible; but Cobham himself charged him with it. After a trial which was a disgraceful travesty of justice, Raleigh was condemned to die as a traitor, though at the last moment he was 'reprieved' by the king's grace and left to eat out his heart as a prisoner in the Tower for a dozen years.

There was to be one more serious plot, the work of a few papalist fanatics. Each of the religious parties in England—Catholics, **Catholic expectations.** Anglicans (as we must call those who were satisfied with the Church as by law established), and Puritans or 'Non-conformists' (who wanted at least a larger liberty for discarding 'papistical' practices)—had hoped to find its position improved by the accession of James. The Papacy was not set against him as it had been against Elizabeth; while he was in Scotland he had at one time shown signs of favouring the papists; he had not the same political reasons for hostility to Rome as the old queen whose legitimacy Rome could never admit; he was the son of Mary Stewart who in the eyes of many had died a martyr to her faith; and as a matter of fact the Catholics were

right in believing that James was willing to give them the toleration which France gave the Huguenots. The Puritans relied on the fact that he came from a Calvinist kingdom and therefore would have Calvinist sympathies. The Anglicans knew the political value of the established system to the Crown.

The hopes of Puritans and Catholics were dashed before a year was over. The fear of popery had become ingrained in the English people to a degree which was not in the least grasped by Catholic **Their disap-** enthusiasts. The exposure of the Bye Plot through the **pointment.** Jesuits encouraged the Catholics, for the pressure of the penal laws, made in Elizabeth's latter years, was immediately relaxed. They began to act as if the laws had been repealed, popular sentiment took fright, and James found himself compelled not only to enforce the laws but to add to their severity.

Then despair seized the Catholic extremists. Their only hope lay in a violent revolution. Open rebellion against the organised forces of the State would certainly be crushed, but if by a secret **Gunpowder** and terrific blow the organised forces were first thrown **Plot, 1605.** utterly out of gear, and the blow were swiftly followed up, the thing might be done. This was the origin of the 'Gunpowder Plot.' The conspirators made elaborate secret arrangements by which at the opening of Parliament, on 5th November 1605, the Houses of Parliament were to be blown up, king and ministers, Lords and Commons, in one huge destruction. The only people with plans ready for seizing the control and direction of affairs would be the conspirators themselves; the triumph of the Sacred Cause would be complete. A word from one of the conspirators to a friend warning him to be absent from the ceremony awakened suspicion. Guido Fawkes, a soldier-zealot, had been entrusted with the terrible task of lighting the train which should fire the explosion. As he waited at his post in the powder-stocked cellars which ran beneath the Houses of Parliament, the guards broke in upon him. All the conspirators were hunted down and perished.

For three hundred years the rumour of a 'Popish plot' for the massacre of Protestants was enough to excite the imaginative frenzy of the populace, and the effigy of Guy Fawkes was burnt **No Popery.** with jubilation on the 5th of November even at the beginning of the twentieth century. At the time, when there were thousands of living men who could remember not only the fires of Smithfield but the atrocities of Alva in the Netherlands and the French Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the panic was not so irrational as it

seems now. The immediate effect was that public opinion demanded the sternest enforcement of the laws against 'recusants'—Catholics who refused to attend the English Church services—and laws were passed forbidding Catholics to hold military commands, or to practise the learned professions.

THE Puritans had already had their lesson. (We must remember that 'Nonconformists' at that time did not mean members of sects or churches outside the State Church, but clergy and laity within the Church, who wished for more changes in its rules.) When James was making his first journey from Scotland through England, he was presented with a petition for Church Reforms called the Millenary Petition because a thousand of the clergy were said to have signed it; though that was an exaggeration. He allowed a conference of clergy to be held at Hampton Court, to discuss the question; but his own mind was already made up. The bishops, if they wanted reforms, wanted them in the other direction, of increased strictness; the Nonconformists wanted to bring in the Presbyterian scheme of Church government. James's own views were summed up in his phrases, 'No bishop, no king,' and 'Presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil.' Naturally the conference ruled out all the demands of the Puritans, the 'High' Anglicans carried the day, all along the line, and the only other outcome—a very valuable one—was the preparation and publication of our 'Authorised Version' of the Bible.

After this, Convocation (with the assent of the Crown) made new and stricter rules for the clergy—it could not make them for the laity without consent of Parliament which had strong Puritan sympathies—in consequence of which some two hundred lost their livings by refusing to subscribe to the new rules. And the effect of this was on the one hand to make the clergy more united in support of the High Anglicans, but on the other to make the laity sympathise with the Puritans—even when they did not adopt their views—as being unfairly and harshly treated, so that every Parliament which met was more Puritan and more opposed to the bishops than the last; and the number of those who broke away from the Church in spite of all the penalties for doing so increased, all through the reign.

For the first nine years of his reign James allowed himself to be guided

mainly by Cecil who was created earl of Salisbury ; who intended, by using every chance of stealing a march on the opposition, to gather power into the king's hands. Now long before Elizabeth died, her Parliaments were of opinion that the Crown was usurping authority which ought to belong to them ; they checked their resentment out of personal respect for Elizabeth, but with the new king they were determined to stand on their rights. In the first sessions there were warnings—though no more than warnings—of troubles to come if the king meant to assert claims which Parliament regarded as breaches of its own rights and privileges. The troubles did come, and here at the beginning of them we may pause for some explanations so as to escape interrupting the story to give them later.

3. Crown
and
Parliament.

There are certain terms and phrases which will have to be used with some frequency, the meaning of which must be clearly distinguished. First of all as to Parliament. A 'new' Parliament is one which meets immediately after a General Election. That Parliament goes on—however seldom or however often it meets, it is the same Parliament with the same members—until it is *dissolved*. After a dissolution, there must be another General Election before a Parliament can meet, and any number of the members of the House of Commons may be changed. In the old days there was no rule as to the length of time that a Parliament might go on sitting—there was one in the reign of Charles II. which went on for eighteen years. The king dissolved Parliament when he thought fit ; that was the only rule. In the same way he only summoned a new Parliament when he thought fit, though if he wanted to make new laws or to obtain a grant of money he had no choice, because both needed the consent of Parliament. If he wanted neither, he could carry on without a Parliament as long as he chose.

Dissolution.

But Parliament was not sitting all the time between the election and the dissolution. The king could put an end to its sittings for a time, without a dissolution, by *proroguing* it, and he could go on proroguing it as often as he liked. When he did call it together again after a prorogation, it was still the same Parliament ; there had been no General Election.

Prorogation.

Parliament could not dissolve itself or prorogue itself, or summon itself to meet after a prorogation ; that was the king's affair. When it wanted on its own account to stop sitting for a time, it *adjourned* itself to meet again at its own appointed time.

Adjourn-
ment.

The adjournment was in its own hands. After an adjournment, business was taken up again and continued from the point where it left off. After a prorogation, a Bill which had been on its way through Parliament but had not actually been passed had to start again from the beginning just as if it had never been before Parliament at all.

The next phrases we have to explain are *Royal Prerogative* and *Privilege* of Parliament. The Prerogative means all that the king

Prerogative and privilege.	has a right to do because he is king (sometimes spoken of as 'powers inherent in the Crown') without consulting Parliament or asking its consent. Privilege means the special rights which members of Parliament enjoy because they are members of parliament and so long as they are members : rights established by custom, as the Royal Prerogatives are rights established by custom. We shall find violent disputes arising, from the Crown claiming as prerogative rights which the Parliaments will not admit, and setting at naught rights which the Parliaments claim as privilege.
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Again, we must recall the difference between an Impeachment and a Bill or Act of Attainder. Acts of Attainder were invented in the time of Henry VI. A Bill was brought before Parliament condemning the attainted person as a traitor. There was no trial. The accused person could not defend himself. The Bill was treated like any other Bill ; if it was passed by both Houses and received the royal assent, it was an Act of Parliament and part of the law of the land, and the condemned person was punished accordingly. An Impeachment on the other hand is a regular trial before the highest legal court in the country, the House of Lords. The accused person could make his defence. Its peculiarity is that the House of Commons as a body appears as the accuser. More than a hundred years have passed since the last Impeachment, and more than two hundred since the last Act of Attainder. Impeachments had begun at the end of Edward III.'s reign ; they had given place to Attainders when the Wars of the Roses began ; but during the seventeenth century we shall find both methods in use.

THE war with Spain had sunk into a mere habit of commerce-raiding ; fighting not between English and Spanish fleets, but between English and Spanish ships when they happened to meet or to hunt each other out, in which the English could reckon confidently on victory unless the odds in the enemy's favour were at least three to one. Peace was made in the first year of James's reign. The

king wisely enough desired to live in accord with his neighbours, Catholic or Protestant, and to persuade them to keep the peace with each other. It seemed to him silly that in matters of religion they should not be willing to live and let live, and he foolishly believed that he could ensure the general harmony by marrying his son to a Spanish princess and his daughter to a Protestant prince. He failed to bring off the Spanish match for which he went on angling for seventeen years; chiefly because Spain viewed it merely as a means for recovering a Catholic ascendancy in England, so that terms satisfactory to both Spain and England could never be arranged. But in 1613 he married his daughter Elizabeth, who was almost as fascinating as her grandmother Mary, to the young Elector Palatine.

Ireland had better fortune than it had enjoyed for a long time. The disaffected Irish lost their leader because Tyrone, suspected of treason, fled the country. The forfeiture of his estates enabled James to plant a large Scottish colony in Ulster, which laid the foundation of what has ever since been the outstanding difference between Protestant Ulster and the Catholic 'rest of Ireland.' But in general, peace reigned under mild deputies, while there was no one to organise resistance to the Government on the Irish side and nothing to excite violent repressive measures on the other; and the peace with Spain had at least the effect of blotting out futile hopes of Spanish support for rebellion.

The first Parliament sat at intervals from 1604 to 1611 when it was dissolved. Salisbury was directing the king's policy, and it was not directly hostile, though alert to nip in the bud any attempt to interfere with its privileges. There was in consequence a small but not unimportant collision at the beginning, in which the Commons came off victors. One of the members elected, Sir Francis Goodwin, had been outlawed. His election therefore was probably illegal; his opponent brought the matter before the Court of Chancery, which quashed the election. But the Commons claimed it as their privilege to deal with election questions themselves, a privilege which was theirs by right, not merely allowed by 'the king's grace.' By agreement a fresh election was held, but this privilege was never again disputed.

In 1606 the king made some additions to the duties on imported goods. A merchant named Bate claimed that these additions (called the Impositions) were illegal, having been made without consent of Parliament; he refused to pay, but the law-courts gave judgment

against him, holding that such additions belonged to the Royal Prerogative. Two years later, Salisbury, relying on this judgment, issued a new 'Book of Rates' or scale of duties on imports, intended to add considerably to the king's revenue. Parliament had already been prorogued. When it met again in 1610—the Government being in need of a further grant—it was angry. These impositions were a grievance. Another complaint was that the king had announced by proclamation that certain offences were punishable which had not hitherto been known to the law. They would not discuss supplies till the grievances were remedied. At the bottom of it of course was the feeling that if the king could create new offences and pile up 'duties' at his own pleasure, he could carry on without summoning Parliaments.

Then a general scheme of settlement called the Great Contract was proposed; the object being to ensure to the Crown a fixed instead of an uncertain revenue, to which no addition could be made without consent of Parliament. Part of the revenue came from the old 'feudal dues' claimed by the kings as suzerains, which varied from time to time. These were to be abolished altogether, and in their place the king was to have a fixed income. But the Great Contract never came off, because Crown and Parliament haggled over the amount, and neither would agree to what the other proposed; and the Parliament was dissolved without any settlement. The Judges in Bate's case had declared that the law was on the king's side—but were the Judges right? Was their decision impartial? On any question touching the rights of the Crown, they were certain to decide all doubtful points in its favour, being themselves men first chosen by the king, and afterwards holding office only so long as he chose. Still it was not easy for the Commons to declare the Judges wrong on a question of law; on the other hand it would be very dangerous for the king to insist upon a point of law about which it was possible to have very grave doubts.

So matters stood when Salisbury died in 1612. His cleverness was of the cunning kind which James understood; but no one took his place.

5. After Salisbury, 1612-18. The king did not understand the much deeper wisdom and insight of his Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, who had little influence with him. On the other hand, he did fall much under the influence of the new Spanish ambassador Gondomar. Left to his own devices, James tried a new Parliament, but could not

more come to terms with it than with the last. Because he haggled and tried to drive a bargain, Parliament haggled too with equal obstinacy. After a couple of months it was dissolved. Because nothing was hatched out of it, it was known as the 'Addled' Parliament. The difficult position of the Judges was illustrated about the same time when the Chief Justice, Coke, having given a decision which went against the king on a point of law, was dismissed from his office. After that, what chance was there of any one believing that any judgment given in favour of the king was an honest and impartial one?

The next marked incident is the shameful one of the sacrifice of Raleigh to the vindictive satisfaction of Spain. With tongue and pen as well as with sword, Raleigh had fought for the utter overthrow of Spain. Though in 1616 he had been kept—Raleigh's
expedition,
1616.—through gross injustice—a close prisoner in the Tower

for twelve years, Spain had not forgiven him. At last he was released. He was to lead an expedition in search of a fabulously rich gold mine in South America, somewhere on the Orinoco, of which he had heard on one of his ventures in Elizabeth's day. But whatever happened he was not to quarrel with James's very good friends the Spaniards. That was a familiar story to the old Elizabethan. He and Drake and every one else had always understood that quarrelling with the Spaniards was dead against the queen's orders—and that the orders were meant to be broken. If the adventurer was successful, the queen would share the profits and all would be well; if he came to grief, that was his own affair, the queen had nothing to do with it and he had merely met with his deserts. Raleigh imagined now that he was being sent out to play the old game. It was not His end,
1618. till too late that he awoke to the fact that behind his

back James was playing Gondomar's game all the time. Wherever he went he found the Spaniards ready for him. The expedition was a miserable failure. Gondomar denounced his criminal proceedings and demanded his head. He was arrested as soon as he came to land again in England (1618). There was no need for a trial—the old sentence for the 'treason' of the Main Plot had never been cancelled; he had been only 'reprieved,' not pardoned. James bought Gondomar's goodwill with Raleigh's head and his own shame. And from Gondomar's goodwill he got, as he deserved, no benefit at all.

So far, James, not without difficulty, had been able to carry on the government in spite of the very meagre supplies extracted from Parlia-

ment which he was afraid of supplementing by farther Impositions. But the moment was at hand when he must have more money, if
 6. A trouble- England was to take part in the European troubles. In
 some son- spite of his own counsels his son-in-law was accepting
 in-law. the offer of the Bohemian crown. James would not back
 him up in that venture, but was engaged in telling every one what they
 ought to do while every one without exception was paying no attention
 whatever to his advice. But in 1620 his daughter and her husband
 were fugitives after a crushing defeat by the Imperialists at the White
 Hill in Bohemia; Spanish troops from the Spanish Netherlands were
 overrunning one half of the Palatinate, and imperial troops the other
 half; German Protestantism was certainly in great danger; something
 must be done, and James was beginning to realise with great reluctance
 that the only argument which any one would listen to was—an army,
 or at least the money with which troops could be hired. At the begin-
 ning of 1621 he summoned a Parliament once more.

Parliament had one fixed idea. If Protestantism was in danger,
 Spain must be the enemy. It could understand being invited to fight
 The Parlia- Spain, but was puzzled by this German war, while every
 ment of 1621. one knew that the king wanted to be friends with Spain.
 Parliament did not want the money it voted thrown away, so it voted
 about a quarter of what it was asked for, and turned its attention to
 what it did understand—grievances, which had been multiplying.

Not without reason it suspected ministers, judges, every one connected
 with the court and the king's government, of corruption. The king was
 managed by a favourite, the chosen companion of Charles,
 Grievances. Prince of Wales (whose elder brother Henry had died some
 years before)—George Villiers, a handsome youth who had been made
 earl (soon to be duke) of Buckingham. To buy Buckingham's favour
 had become the way to advancement; he and his friends had the
 spending of the king's money. They were growing rich on monopolies.

A monopoly meant the sole right of dealing in a particular sort of
 goods. The Crown had always claimed the prerogative of regulating
 Monopolies. trade, and, as a part of it, had granted monopolies to the
 Merchants of the Staple, the Merchant Adventurers, and
 more recently to other companies one of which has been mentioned,
 the East India Company. Any one who has a monopoly of something
 can put whatever price he likes upon those goods, which no one else
 may produce for sale. Elizabeth had granted a number of monopolies,
 which of course interfered with the course of trade and enabled the

monopolist to raise the price for his own profit without risk of competition. Before the end of her reign the grievance had become so serious that she promised to stop the practice. But James went on with it, granting all sorts of monopolies for favour, or selling them for cash. This Parliament attacked monopolies so hotly that Buckingham himself who made more profit out of them than any one else advised their abolition, and they were done away with.

Then the Commons impeached some ministers for corruption—taking bribes. It was an evil custom of long standing for the suitors in any trial to make presents to the Judges. The Commons ^{Impeach-} charged the chancellor, Bacon, with receiving bribes. ^{ments.} Like every one else he had taken presents though probably his judgments had never been influenced by them. But the practice was indefensible, and Bacon was dismissed most properly. From that day no English judge has laid himself open to the charge of taking bribes.

Meeting again in the autumn, the Commons returned to grievances. James, in his desire for the marriage of Charles to a Spanish princess—by which he hoped to draw Spain over to his side—had ^{A quarrel.} been encouraging laxity in the punishment of Catholic ‘recusants.’¹ Spain was still the enemy in the eyes of the Commons. They demanded that the laws against recusants should be enforced, and the negotiations for the Spanish match broken off. James told them that these high matters were not for them to meddle with. They replied that they were privileged to discuss what they chose and say what they chose. James dissolved the Parliament—without getting the desired grant of money.

Then Charles went off, with Buckingham, to woo the Infanta in person. The result was that the pair of them quarrelled with the Spanish Court and the Spanish grandees, and came back raging against ^{The break} Spain. The whole foolish business was broken off, and ^{with Spain.} Buckingham, clamouring for war with Spain, became for some months actually popular. The popularity did not last. A new scheme was set on foot for marrying Charles to the French king’s sister, Henrietta Maria. Again a new Parliament was summoned (1624). It was suspicious of the French marriage; the French would probably require concessions to the English Catholics. Parliament adjourned without voting supplies.

But Buckingham was now bent on the French match and on plunging into an expedition to the Netherlands, for which there was no money.

¹ See p. 172.

To secure the former, he made promises to the French Court which made it perfectly certain that an angry Parliament would refuse supplies. Parliament could not be faced; nevertheless Buckingham promised money right and left to possible allies, raked together some thousands of untrained and half-equipped troops and sent them off to the Netherlands, where they could not fight, and died like flies, of sickness and starvation and lack of necessities of every kind. While the ghastly business was collapsing in wretched ruin the old king died (27th March 1625) and Charles I. with Buckingham still beside him reigned in his stead.

IV. Britain Oversea : 1606-1640.

The Virginia Company—The First Puritan Colony—Expansion in America under Charles I.—The West and East Indies.

WHEN, in 1603, James VI. of Scotland became king of England and Ireland also, his dominions did not include a foot of land outside the British Isles, save for a shadowy claim to vague regions beyond the Atlantic where no European settlers had established themselves. Those unexplored lands were in possession of wandering tribes of Redskins—still known as Indians because the first voyagers to America had taken the new lands for outlying portions of India. During his reign Britons—for the most part Englishmen—had laid in those lands the foundations of the British Empire. The dreams of Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh were beginning to be realised.

Those two pioneers had failed. While Elizabeth reigned, England was at war with Spain, and Englishmen with the spirit of adventure in them were not attracted by the idea of planting themselves in exile to earn a humdrum livelihood at the price of exhausting toil varied by fights with Red Indians from whom nothing could be taken. The Spaniards were in possession of the golden lands; and robbing the Spaniard—if you came out of the business alive—was both more interesting and more lucrative. But though Raleigh had found few willing settlers, and those settlers had been wiped out, he had pointed the way to a new England beyond the seas.

The short cut to wealth disappeared when peace with Spain was signed in 1604. The idea that the unoccupied territories of the new continent might be turned to account for commercial purposes, even

if they were not stocked with treasure-mines, appealed to men who had spare money which they wished to increase. The number of chartered commercial companies to whom the Crown granted exclusive trading rights in the remoter regions of the earth was increasing. Such companies could afford an expenditure on colonisation which had been impossible for private persons like Gilbert and Raleigh. In 1606 a number of wealthy men combined to form such a company for colonising where Raleigh had failed; they obtained a charter for the occupation of a vast and vague territory in North America, which they were to take over as subjects of the British Crown. In 1607 they planted their settlement at Jamestown in the Chesapeake Bay, giving to the colony the name of Virginia, which Raleigh had chosen for his own unsuccessful venture.

The Virginia Company,
1606.

Colonising was a matter of pure experiment. The control of the colony was in the hands of the governors or directors of the company who lived in England, subject to the control of the Crown. They appointed the governors on the spot, who were responsible to them and had to take their orders from them. The colonists themselves were people who thought they had better prospects in America than in the old country. More than once they were nearly wiped out by the Red Indians: but they won through, chiefly owing to the energy, daring, and skill of an adventurer, Captain John Smith. With the settlement at Jamestown as the centre, port, and seat of government of the colony, the colonists—often the younger sons of English country-gentlemen—divided as much of the land as could be occupied into great estates, ‘plantations,’ cultivating them partly for food-production but mainly to raise other products such as tobacco, which could be exchanged for goods manufactured in England—a more convenient arrangement than manufacturing for themselves. Labour for cultivating the plantations was not at first easily found; but that problem was soon solved by the importation of negro slaves from Africa.

Within twenty years after the first expedition of the Virginia Company, the government of the colony had taken a definite legalised shape on very English lines. As there was a Parliament in England, so there was a representative assembly of the free colonists—those who had taken up land. As the king governed through his ministers in England, a governor and council governed in the colony, but they were appointed by the home authorities. The Church of the colony was the Church of England. It was the business of the

A constitution, 1625.

colonists to look after themselves and manage their own affairs. The English Government had no desire to interfere—so long as the colony gave it no trouble.

THEN came another colonising movement, with quite another object in view. Most of the Puritans, though they wished the form of Church government to be changed, and disliked many practices and doctrines enjoined or permitted in the Church of England, nevertheless submitted to the law. But there were some whose conscience forbade them to submit to it. They sought refuge in Holland, but were not satisfied to remain there. There was room for them in America to plant themselves where they need interfere with no one, no one need interfere with them, and they would be free to worship God in their own fashion. King James's Government had no objection—from his point of view, Puritans in England were a nuisance, but out of England were harmless.

Friends of the exiles obtained permission for them to settle on territory which had been granted to the Virginia Company, or to another company called the Council of New England which had The 'Mayflower,' 1620. not yet set about planting any settlements. And so in 1620 the *Mayflower* made her famous voyage from Plymouth, and on 11th December landed the 'Pilgrim Fathers' on the American shores, far northward, at a spot which they named Plymouth after the port from which they had started.

That was the beginning of the Puritan New England colonies: founded by little more than one hundred men and women, bound together in a close brotherhood by a common and fervent faith, ready to endure hardship, toil, and danger, but not covetous of wealth; desiring simply to live by the labour of their own hands, worshipping God after their own austere fashion, untroubled by any who disliked their views; willing however to admit to their society none but those who were like-minded with themselves. The land to which they had been guided was not hospitable; a living was to be dragged from the soil only by hard work, with constant risk of raids by hostile Indians. Comfort, ease, wealth were not to be dreamt of—but they were well exchanged for the liberty these men desired; liberty to obey their own stern creed and follow their own hard discipline.

By degrees they were joined by others of kindred spirit; the New Plymouth settlement spread. Here was no taking up of estates to be cultivated by slave labour. The first settlement formed a township

after the fashion of the early English manor; with the land round it cultivated by the common labour of the community, though it was before long allotted as private property. The settlement spread by the formation of new townships. The people chose their own governor and council. As the colony grew, the townships elected representatives to meet in a general assembly of burgesses. There was no produce like Virginian tobacco, to exchange for goods from home, and for a long time the colony was mainly self-supporting—in this too differing from Virginia. There was nothing here to tempt the younger sons of the English gentry, but there was some attraction for rigidly Puritan farmers, farm hands, and artisans. By the home authorities the colony was left even more severely alone than Virginia.

Meanwhile nothing had come of some half-hearted attempts to make a settlement on Newfoundland, which England claimed as her own though the French claimed equal rights in the fisheries of the Newfoundland cod-banks. There was however already a beginning of the rivalry between French and British for possession of regions south of the great river St. Lawrence which are now included in the Dominion of Canada, as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The French were in possession of the north bank of the St. Lawrence. Their right to plant a settlement at Port Royal (near Annapolis in Nova Scotia) was disputed, they were ejected by an expedition from Virginia in 1613, and in 1621 King James began to plant a colony—chiefly of Scots—in Nova Scotia (New Scotland); granting the title of Baronet to people who purchased large estates. The number of settlers however was never large, and their right to be there at all was generally disputed by the French for nearly a hundred years.

New-
foundland
and Nova
Scotia.

COLONISING activity increased greatly under Charles I.; Puritans, taking example from the Plymouth settlers, saw a way of escape in emigration to the same part of America, 'New England.' Catholics—who were for the most part country gentry—had a like desire to escape from the penalties attached to the profession and practice of their creed in England. They were of the same social class, with the same habits and traditions, as the Virginian planters, whose churchmanship was much more antagonistic to Puritanism than to Roman Catholicism.

So it was a Roman Catholic nobleman, Lord Baltimore, who obtained in 1632 a charter for establishing a second plantation colony in the

3. Mary-
land, 1632.

south on the borders of Virginia, chiefly as a refuge for Roman Catholics, but upon the general condition that religion was to be free. The colony was named Maryland after Charles I.'s queen, Henrietta Maria. It differed at first from Virginia in being a 'proprietary' colony of which Baltimore himself was the proprietor and ruler, though at a later date it copied the political institutions of Virginia.

Puritan New England was entirely separated from the Anglican and Catholic plantations by a Dutch colony on the river Hudson with

The Dutch. its headquarters at New Amsterdam (now New York).

The second stage of the Puritan emigration to New England began with the granting of a charter to the Massachusetts Company in 1629, or rather with the despatch of the company's first settlers in

The Massachusetts Company, 1629. 1628, before the actual granting of the charter. The right practically of complete self-government was given to the settlers themselves; they chose their own governor and

council, and elected their own assembly. Their first headquarters were at Salem, which before long was displaced by Boston as the seat of government. The New Plymouth settlers had been drawn generally from the humbler ranks of life; among the Massachusetts settlers there was a large proportion of gentry and professional men, but the common characteristic of all was a rigid Puritanism. Political rights were enjoyed only by those who were enrolled as 'Church members'—that is, 'Independents' or 'Congregationalists.' Puritanism, when it held the mastery, was as intolerant of any departure from its own views of orthodoxy as the most intolerant of Anglicans. And Puritanism held that it was the duty of the Government to make and enforce laws controlling the private morals and religious conduct of every member of the community. The New England Puritan clergy had very much the same sort of authority as the Calvinist ministers of the Kirk in Scotland.

Massachusetts lay on the north of Plymouth. On either side of them, and partly springing from them, new colonies expanded—

More colonies, 1630-40. Rhode Island and Connecticut towards the Hudson, New Hampshire and Maine on the north, towards the French territory. All these had been constituted before the great Civil War broke out in England in 1642.

THE beginnings of colonisation were also being made in the West India islands. The Bermudas, a northern group not properly included in the West Indies, were first occupied in 1613, when a chance shipwreck

had revealed their value. The Spaniards claimed possession of all the West India islands, but had left many of them unoccupied. So before James was dead, the English had taken possession of Barbadoes at the southern end, and were arranging to share St. Christopher (generally known as St. Kitts) with the French. From St. Kitts, during the first few years of Charles's reign, both powers were extending their acquisitions, for the cultivation of sugar and other natural products of commercial value. The settlements were all small, and of the 'plantation' order.

In Africa, in the Indian Ocean, and in Asia, there was no English colonisation in the proper sense. In the islands the Dutch were beforehand where the Portuguese were not already established. Half of India was by this time under the sway of the Mogul empire, which was gradually absorbing the other powerful kingdoms that still survived. But intercourse with the Mogul Court of Jehan Ghir was opened by the embassy of Sir Thomas Rowe, who was sent there to establish friendly relations by James I. The East India Company had already obtained permission from a native prince to set up a 'factory' or trading station at Surat on the west coast in 1612; a similar privilege was granted at Fort St. George on the south-east coast—afterwards known as Madras—in 1639, by a native monarch who was not yet a subject of the Moguls; and about the same time, the Mogul himself gave them leave to establish a factory at Hugli on the river Hugli, one of the mouths of the great Ganges—a station the place of which was taken, many years later, by Calcutta. Thus the company had established a regular footing in India, though simply as traders and always as tenants of the Indian ruler, not as conquerors with power over the natives.

V. Charles I. and Buckingham : 1625-1629.

The Beginning of Quarrels—Buckingham, 1626-8—
The Third Parliament, 1628-9.

WHEN young King Charles succeeded his father on the throne, the outlook was black. He was devotedly attached to Buckingham, and completely under his guidance; whereas the country, with very good reason, detested the arrogant duke and was convinced that nothing but disaster could result from his control over affairs of State. Owing to the Netherlands expedition, the Government was in terrible need of money which it could only

get from Parliament, so a Parliament must be faced. The marriage with Henrietta Maria must be an accomplished fact before Parliament met, since it would certainly not confirm the promises in favour of Roman Catholics which Buckingham had made in order to win the consent of the French Court to the alliance. Charles waited till he had made the French princess his wife; then he summoned his first Parliament and asked it for money to carry on the war.

Parliament would readily have voted money for a war which it understood, and conducted by ministers whom it trusted. It did not trust

The first Buckingham, and was in the dark as to his policy—was Parliament, it war with Spain, or war in Germany, war in defence of 1625.

Protestantism, or war on behalf of the king's brother-in-law? Some money the Government must have, but large sums should not be voted until Parliament had some security that they were not going to be thrown into the sea. There could be no security so long as Buckingham ruled. Besides there were other grievances, slackness in the punishment of 'recusants,' ecclesiastical promotions and favours bestowed upon men who were preaching doctrines shocking to Puritans; these things must be remedied before the Commons could trust the new king's government. . . . So Parliament denounced the grievances, and voted only two 'subsidies' (a subsidy being about £70,000) instead of the half-million asked for. They would increase the vote if Buckingham were dismissed.

Also, it had been taken for granted that the first Parliament of the reign, like the first Parliament of every reign for the last two hundred years, would give the king authority to levy throughout his reign the toll on imported goods known as tonnage and poundage—so much per ton on liquids such as wine and so much per pound weight on other goods—brought into English ports from abroad. These were not included in the 'Ancient Customs' of Edward I. which every king had a right to levy without asking Parliament, but every king, from Henry VI. on, had been given the right by Parliament. Now the Commons brought in a Tonnage and Poundage Bill—but giving the right only for one year instead of the whole reign.

The Subsidy Bill was passed. Charles, determined not to give way about Buckingham, dissolved this hostile Parliament without waiting for the Tonnage and Poundage Bill. He considered that the practice of two hundred years had made the right of levying the toll a part of the Royal Prerogative.

To conciliate popular feeling, Buckingham sent a naval expedition to Cadiz ; but it came home again without accomplishing anything at all. And meanwhile he quarrelled with Richelieu who had been forced to take military measures against the French Huguenots, not because of their religion, but because their leaders, for political reasons, were in rebellion against the government.

The quarrel grows, 1625-6.

The subsidies were already exhausted, and there was nothing for it but to summon a new Parliament at the beginning of 1626. Unfortunately the new Parliament was no less hostile than the last. It declared its readiness to vote supplies, but proposed to impeach Buckingham before doing so. The Peers were as hostile to the duke as the Commons ; the king would not risk the impeachment. To prevent it he dissolved his second Parliament in June—before it had voted any supplies at all.

Second Parliament.

UNTIL this time, neither king nor Parliament had done anything which could be certainly declared illegal. The king had the right of choosing his own ministers, and he chose Buckingham. He had raised money only in ways which the legal authorities declared to be legal though other lawyers held that their declaration was unsound in law. On the other hand, the Commons had the legal right to refuse supplies and the legal right to impeach a minister, or to make his dismissal a condition of their granting supplies. The practical result however was that the king must either surrender his minister or carry on the government without supplies, with only the money which the law authorised him to raise for himself.

2. No law-breaking.

But though the Commons had not broken the law, they had departed from constitutional practice with regard to tonnage and poundage, and perhaps in challenging the right of the Crown to make ecclesiastical appointments at its pleasure ; though they were certainly entitled to make their dissatisfaction on that or any other point a ground for withholding supplies.

Now, however, Charles resolved to carry on without supplies. For the rest of the year 1626, all through 1627, and for some months longer, he did so, but it was only by raising money in ways not authorised by law, and by following other practices of which the legality was very doubtful. Moreover, all through that time, Buckingham's policy and Buckingham's management of affairs were making the English people more and more angry, more and more deter-

The high hand, 1626-8.

mined to be rid of the obnoxious minister. But there was no newspaper Press to give expression to the popular feeling, and while there was no Parliament sitting the voice of criticism was silenced.

Though no Act of Parliament had granted tonnage and poundage, those tolls were collected by Royal Prerogative. If the former decision of the Judges in Bate's case was sound—and whether it was sound or not it held good in law until it should be reversed—Charles was so far acting within his legal rights. But the next step was a 'forced' or compulsory 'loan,' which was merely a 'benevolence' in disguise. The king demanded from individuals and groups of people the 'loan' of a sum equal to five subsidies. The Chief-Justice, Crewe, backed by the whole bench of Judges, pronounced that the loan might legally be refused. Nevertheless, five knights who refused were put in prison, and Crewe was dismissed from his office. Charles had definitely broken the law by enforcing the loan, and by throwing people into prison without trial. Other people who had refused to pay were 'pressed' for military service, or were selected to have soldiers 'billeted' upon them, to be lodged and supported by them without payment; which of course excited intense popular indignation.

There had been pressing and billeting in time of war before, but they had not been used to penalise persons who had offended the authorities. The war now was the latest move in Buckingham's wild policy—war with France, not in Germany or against Spain. Richelieu was putting down the Huguenot rebels and was besieging their great port of Rochelle. Alliance with France was the one way of checking Catholic and Hapsburg aggression, whether on the part of Spain or of the emperor, who had just driven Denmark out of the field. But Buckingham had quarrelled with the French Court, and hoped to gain some favour with English Protestants by taking up the cause of the Huguenots in France—also to retrieve his own military reputation by leading a triumphant expedition to the relief of Rochelle.

So in 1527 he went off with the troops he had managed to collect, to capture the Isle of Rhé, the possession of which would make it impossible for the French to blockade Rochelle from the sea. But though the duke was personally fearless, he was wholly without military skill, the men distrusted their leader, the arrangements for military supplies were atrocious, everything was mismanaged, and the expedition came hopelessly to grief. The devices for raising money had failed to provide

early enough, and at the beginning of 1628 Buckingham and Charles were more found that they must appeal to a Parliament.

THE third Parliament met in March 1628; in an even worse temper than either of its predecessors. Instead of conciliating Protestant sentiment, the Isle of Rhé expedition had merely infuriated the opposition throughout the country. New grievances, as we have seen, had been accumulating for nearly two years. The Arminians, the Church party most offensive to the Puritans, were ostentatiously favoured by the Court; the most active of them, William Laud, had just been made bishop of London. Buckingham was more unpopular than ever. Illegal taxation, imprisonments without trial, arbitrary billeting, innovations in religion, must go for good and all; and Buckingham must be pulled down. Then, but not till then, supplies should be granted.

3. The third
Parliament,
1628.

Illegalities were to take the first place. Instead of a Bill, the leaders—Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Eliot, and John Pym—drew up a petition, the famous Petition of Right. It declared that certain practices were illegal—(1) the levying by prerogative, without consent of Parliament, of any ‘gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or suchlike charge’; (2) imprisonment of any one without an express statement of the charge brought against him; (3) billeting; (4) martial law in place of the ordinary law. By consenting to it, the king was not to be deprived of any rights which had hitherto lawfully belonged to him.

The Petition
of Right,
7th June.

The Peers adopted the petition as well as the Commons. Charles at first would not accept it. Eliot in the Commons proposed a formal remonstrance against the illegal acts and general mismanagement of the Government. Charles took fright and accepted the petition, which thus became a statute of the realm, on 7th June. On the 12th the Commons passed a Bill granting five subsidies; but they went on with the remonstrance condemning Buckingham and also the Arminian clergy. Further, assuming that the petition had decided the tonnage and poundage question in their favour, they passed a Bill granting the bill for one year.

The king declared that the petition had decided the question not in their favour but in his. As a matter of fact, the king and the Commons had chosen to take the words in opposite senses, either of which could be defended, so that it had really left the point unsettled. On 26th June, Charles prorogued

Parliament
prorogued,
26th June.

the Parliament, before the remonstrance had been completed ; after which he went on levying tonnage and poundage by prerogative as before, while Buckingham went on with active preparations for another expedition to Rochelle.

Then the Commons received a great shock. Wentworth, their strongest though not their most popular leader, went over to the king —soon to become their most formidable enemy. His former associates branded him as the grand ‘apostate,’ traitor to the great Cause. A peerage was his immediate reward ; but it cannot account for the apostasy. Probably he had never cared for the ‘Cause,’ but—like some other great men before him and after him—was convinced that he, and he alone, could save the country from disaster. But he could save it only as the chief counsellor of a supreme king or as the acknowledged leader of a supreme Parliament. With the king, he stood no chance against Buckingham, therefore he had fought for the supremacy of Parliament. But the last session had taught him that the eloquence of the fiery Eliot counted for more with Parliament than his own greater qualities of statesmanship. Buckingham had not fallen—but he would fall ; and then the king, if Wentworth were already on his side, would turn to him and the country would be saved. But between him and Parliament there would be war to the knife, for his apostasy would never be forgiven, and he must fight more fiercely for the supremacy of the Crown than ever he had fought for the supremacy of Parliament.

If that is the true explanation of the change in Wentworth, his first desire was fulfilled within a few weeks. Buckingham was at Portsmouth in August, on the point of embarking for the new Rochelle expedition, when he was stabbed to the heart by a crazy ex-officer named Felton whose brain had been turned by disappointment and ill-fortune, and who believed himself to be the divinely chosen instrument for Buckingham’s destruction. Charles never forgot or forgave the display of vindictive delight with which the populace hailed the news of the murder of the man he loved most in the world.

The prorogued Parliament was not called together again till January (1629). Meanwhile, supporters of its claims had been refusing to pay tonnage and poundage, among them a member of the House of Commons named Rolle, who had been thrown into prison while his goods were forfeited. This, whatever the law-courts might say, was a breach of the privileges

Murder of
Buckingham,
August.

The breaking of
Parliament,
1629.

claimed for its own members by the House. Stormy discussions took place; stormy resolutions were passed; finally on 2nd March there was a historic scene in the Commons. Sir John Finch, the 'Speaker,' by the king's order proposed to adjourn the meeting. He was held down in his chair, while a member locked the doors and three resolutions drawn up by Eliot were put to the House by Holles and carried by acclamation.

In those resolutions the Commons assumed an authority they had never claimed before. They declared (1) that any one holding or teaching the Arminian doctrines or introducing 'innovations' in religion was an enemy of the State; (2) that any one who defended the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament was an enemy of the State; (3) that any one who submitted to the levying of the same and paid the duty was an enemy of the State.

Even while the resolutions were being passed, the king's guards, sent by Charles himself, were hammering for admittance at the locked doors. When the doors were opened and the members poured out together, the dissolution of the third Parliament was proclaimed immediately afterwards. Eleven years were to pass before the summoning of the fourth.

VI. Arbitrary Rule : 1629-1640.

Laud and Weston—Wentworth in Ireland—
Scotland and the National Covenant.

THE death of Buckingham ended the reckless foreign policy and the extravagant waste of money which had compelled the king to appeal to Parliament for supplies. The senseless war with France was soon brought to a close, with no more fighting. There was no one to urge on war on behalf of the Elector Palatine; in 1630 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden took the field for German Protestantism, his victories turned the tide in its favour, and though the terrible 'Thirty Years' War continued to rage after his death in 1632, Germany could be left to its own welter. So long as Charles could get enough revenue to carry on the administration at home, untrammelled by foreign wars, he could rule without summoning Parliament.

When the Petition of Right became law, the Commons imagined for a moment that they had won a complete victory; but Charles with the Judges on his side was able to act as if he had made no difference. The clauses about billeting and martial law meant nothing when the troops had been disbanded. As to arbi-

trary imprisonment, the Judges declared that although a man imprisoned on a particular charge could claim trial on that charge, the Crown could arrest and imprison a dangerous person without making any charge at all against him ; so that he could not claim trial but could be kept in prison till the Crown thought fit to release him. Finally, as the petition had not deprived the king of any of his prerogatives, he could impose at the ports whatever ' duties ' he judged to be for the good of the State and for the benefit of trade, including tonnage and poundage. The question was not what the Commons had intended the law to mean, but what it actually did mean in the eyes of the Judges.

So Charles arrested Eliot (who died in prison after a year) and other members, two of whom remained in prison till 1640. People who printed pamphlets which in the opinion of the king and his advisers were seditious or scurrilous were punished by the Court of Star Chamber. Laud, as bishop of London and from 1633 as archbishop of Canterbury, ruled the Church through the Court of High Commission, while Puritanism fumed at him as an Arminian and no better than a disguised Papist. Puritan fanatics were set in the pillory, a detestable form of public punishment. Other Puritans, despairing of England, sought refuge in the new colony of Massachusetts and its offshoots in New England. The repressive laws against Roman Catholicism were hardly enforced ; Charles now, though no papist himself, was almost as much a slave to the influence of his French papist wife as he had before been to that of Buckingham. The mass of the people were not Puritans, but they hated the Pope ; the persecution of Puritans and the favour shown to Roman Catholics drew their sympathy to the Puritan side. But there was no Parliament to give expression to their discontent, and the Printing Press was silenced by the Star Chamber.

Resistance to the payment of tonnage and poundage soon ceased ; no one objected to the toll itself, which had been paid without a murmur for centuries. Merchants did not care to make martyrs of themselves because the king levied it by his own authority. Trade increased, for England was at peace while every country on the Continent was tangled in the toils of the Thirty Years' War. So the merchants made money, there was general prosperity, and the revenue too increased—because the greater the amount of the goods that came in to port the more there was on which the duties had to be paid. Still, this did not bring in nearly enough. Other means still had to be devised.

They were found by the Treasurer, Weston—Wentworth during these years was generally away either in the north of England or in Ireland. Weston discovered that in the old days the Crown had lawful claims to various feudal dues, claims which had not been exercised for two hundred years or more because the reasons for them had passed away with the passing of the feudal system. But they had never been abolished by law. These claims were revived and enforced. Every one who had land worth £40 was required to take up knighthood and pay the king knight's fees. This was called 'distrain of knighthood.' Landowners had for centuries been encroaching upon the royal forests: now they were required to pay heavy fines for the encroachments of their forefathers. Charles and Weston did not realise that by all this they were rousing more and more irritation among the smaller landed gentry, the very people whom it was most desirable to conciliate.

The most famous of all the devices for raising revenue was ship-money. The Crown certainly had the customary right of calling upon the ports to provide ships for coast defence when there was danger of naval raids or of serious invasion. Custom also allowed the collection of money to provide the ships—ship-money—instead of the ships themselves. With good enough reason, and quite honest intention, ship-money was levied in 1634. No one objected. In 1635 and 1636 the levy was repeated; but it was a general levy, instead of being imposed only on the ports. This was not a right established either by statute or by custom. Besides, it was at least believed that the money was not being spent on the navy. Sir John Hampden, one of the five knights who had been imprisoned for resisting the illegal forced loan ten years before, refused payment on the ground that the levy, inland, was illegal. The Judges before whom the case was tried decided in favour of the Crown, but only by a majority of seven to five. Of course the whole country felt that if the law had not really been on Hampden's side the majority against him would have been much larger.

Still, with no Parliament and no Press to give voice to the general feeling, the king was unconscious of the intensity of the indignation that was fermenting.

THESE proceedings were not directed by Wentworth, though they had his strong approval. He himself was away, first as President of the Council of the North' and then as Deputy in Ireland. That Council

served the same purposes in the north of England as the Court of Star Chamber elsewhere; and Wentworth was its master. In Ireland he

2. Went- was a dictator. He feared no man and ruled with an iron
worth in hand, with a stern justice which showed no favour to the
Ireland. powerful; but whenever there was a question between the
interests of the Crown and those of its subjects, Wentworth's 'justice'
and Wentworth's 'law' meant simply whatever suited the Crown.

His rule in Ireland brought the country such material prosperity as it had never known. He was a tyrant, ruling by force according to his own will, but he suffered no one else to play the tyrant. He smote the pirates who harassed the Irish coasts. He developed the linen industry, which brought in money and the English goods which Ireland needed. He gave an unwonted security to the life and property of ordinary people. He was a terror to law-breakers, high or low. Yet he himself broke the law without hesitation if it stood in his way.

Wentworth however was working with one special object in view. He knew—better than Charles—that the power of the Crown was at Raising stake, and that the Crown would be beaten unless it had
an army. at its disposal a military force which could put down armed resistance. There was no standing army. There were no feudal levies. The Crown had at its disposal no organised force at all. But in Ireland regiments might be recruited, trained, and paid, which the king could use if the need should arise. The money would come from the Irish, not the English, Parliament—or at any rate, from Ireland. It was not without deliberate deception, half-promises made only to be broken, twisting of the law to provide a warrant for his action, that Wentworth raised enough to equip and maintain in Ireland the troops which were intended to be the foundation, but only the foundation, of a permanent force at the service of the Crown.

Wentworth in short was preparing for a struggle; meaning to be able to strike a decisive blow at the outset, when the hour should come. Buckingham had made no preparations; the king was making none; they imagined that they could ride rough-shod over the Opposition. Wentworth made no such blunder. But the hour came before his preparations were complete; the decisive blow could not be struck. Even then he might have won; but the king's worst enemies were quite literally 'they of his own household'—the queen and the empty-headed intriguers of the Court, who returned Wentworth's blunt contempt with malignant hate, and ruined his plans—and themselves—by the underhand malice which thwarted his measures.

It was in Scotland however that the actual crisis arose which compelled Charles to face an English Parliament for the fourth time.

SCOTLAND, as we have seen, was governed quite separately from England. It had no concern with English Parliaments or ministers, nor was England concerned with what was going on in her own king's other kingdom. Scots living in England had the same rights there as if they had been Englishmen; Englishmen living in Scotland had the same rights there as if they had been Scots. The same language—though with some differences—was spoken in both countries. The religion of most Scots was the religion of a large number (but by no means all) of the English Puritans. The two peoples had one king and had given up fighting each other. But neither had any control over the other, or any right to interfere in the other's affairs.

3. Scotland.

After 1603 the king always lived in England and rarely visited Scotland which he ruled through a Scottish council, though legislation and taxation needed the consent of the Scottish 'Estates' or Parliament. James, after he came to England, had continued to govern as before, but had made it his aim to extend the authority of bishops after the English fashion, and generally to make the Scottish Kirk more like the English Church—more under royal control. But he had not dared to go very far, and he had always carefully encouraged the jealousy between the Scots clergy and the Scots nobles and gentry, in order that they might not combine against his own authority. He had been born and bred in Scotland, was nearly forty years old before he left the country to assume the English Crown, and knew his countrymen thoroughly.

King James
and the
Scots.

Charles knew nothing about the Scots. In Scotland as in England, the Reformation in the middle of the last century had meant, among other things, that the Crown took possession of large estates which had belonged to the Church and then granted most of them away to the nobles and gentry. Charles had hardly become king when he claimed as Crown property the estates which had been granted away, perhaps as much as eighty years ago. But he only gave back a fraction to the clergy, in return for which he claimed a more active control over them; and though he paid back something to the landowners, and let them buy the land again on easy terms, both clergy and landowners were very much aggrieved—and both being turned against the king, they forgot their old quarrel with each other in their common resentment against the king.

Charles's
first
blunder.

But Charles was not content, like James, to have a Church in Scotland which was under political control. He was an ardent believer in the High Church and Arminian doctrines of Laud and his followers, and wished to force all his subjects to accept them—not only in England, as we have seen, but also in Scotland. This the Scots learnt clearly, when Charles, taking Laud with him, visited Scotland in 1633. Then in 1637 Charles, by his own authority, issued in Scotland a Book of Canons or Church Regulations, ordering the adoption of an English Prayer-book—without any reference to the Scottish Parliament or to the lawful authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk. It was just as if he had abolished Presbyterianism and ordered the English Episcopalian or Prelatical Church government to be set up in its place.

The Scots were fervently attached to Presbyterianism and to the religious ideas they had learnt from John Knox and Andrew Melville. In their eyes, the new Service-book was no better than popery. The first attempt to use it in the Edinburgh Cathedral Church of St. Giles caused a riot—tradition says that an old woman named Jeannie Geddes flung her stool at the bishop who was conducting the service.

At any rate the fire was kindled. Scottish opinion was almost unanimous. The clergy would not use the book. There was no legal authority which could take action, but a body of commissioners was formed, known as the 'Tables,' whose authority was accepted by common consent, just as if it had been legal.

The Tables drew up a 'National Covenant' which they called upon the people to sign. In a few weeks two-thirds of the country had signed it. The Covenanters pledged themselves to be loyal to the Crown, to maintain the National Church, and to reject all popish doctrines (1638). Charles, in London, was persuaded or frightened into summoning a General Assembly and a Parliament.

The Assembly met at Glasgow. Its composition was not to the king's liking, and his commissioner or representative, the marquis of Hamilton, dissolved it. The Assembly paid no attention to the dissolution, continued its sittings, and condemned, instead of approving, the Canons, and the new Prayer-book, and the authority of bishops. At the new year (1639) Scotland from end to end was refusing as one man to obey an authority illegally exercised; while it was voluntarily obeying in a perfectly orderly manner, and without any law-breaking,

another authority which accurately expressed the people's will but had no legal power at all.

VII. The Battle of Parliament : 1640-1642.

The Scots and the Short Parliament—Strafford's Fall—
The Long Parliament in Action—The Crisis.

CHARLES resolved to crush the Scottish resistance. But in Scotland he had no troops, and no means of raising them. However, he could march English troops against the rebels, though he could only raise them by calling out the unwilling shire levies of the border counties. The Scots promptly assembled an army of volunteers. The English levies had seen no fighting, and their officers very little, if any. But Scottish adventurers had for years past been fighting for hire and loot in the Thirty Years' War under the greatest captains of the age, Gustavus or Wallenstein. Scotland now was full of these veterans, and the army of the Covenant was led by Alexander Leslie, who had been a trusted officer of Gustavus. The Scots army marched to Duns Law, on the border. In these circumstances, to invade Scotland would be madness. Charles made terms with the Scots. They should have a new General Assembly and Parliament. The 'Tables' were to be dissolved and both armies disbanded. So ended the first 'Bishops' War.'

i. The
Bishops'
War.

The Assembly and the Parliament met—but the troops were not disbanded. The Scots wanted something more substantial than promises, and Charles was casting about for means to compel their submission. Wentworth, summoned from Ireland, was out of touch with affairs in England. He believed that popular sentiment would support the king against the Scots; but the treasury, in spite of all the taxation, could not support a war without a farther grant from Parliament. He advised the king to summon a Parliament, while he himself hastened back to Ireland, with the new titles of earl of Strafford and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, partly to raise money from the Irish Parliament, partly to organise his troops there for a Scottish campaign.

The Short
Parliament,
1640.

The Parliament met in April (1640). Contrary to Strafford's expectations, its sympathies were with the Scots; in his absence, Charles was in the hands of incompetent advisers who were bent on thwarting Strafford. The new Parliament was led by Pym and Hampden. They demanded that redress of grievances should come before supply. The

king—against Strafford's advice—demanded twelve subsidies; and then, seeing that he would not get them till the Commons had discussed grievances, he dissolved the 'Short Parliament' when it had been sitting for only three weeks. Still, the Scots were to be coerced, compelled to submit by force of arms.

A little money and some half-hearted troops were raked together. The Scots obeyed the Government organised by their new General Assembly and Parliament. Leslie announced that the army would march into England, and crossed the Tweed on 20th August. A week later it scattered the English levies—which did not attempt to fight—at Newburn.

Charles hurriedly made terms. Till a definite treaty should be made the Scots army should stay in the north, with its expenses paid. A new Parliament should be called in England. Strafford, who had again come over, wished to return to Ireland where at least he could act; but Charles would neither let him go nor follow his advice. Strafford must stay beside him—relying on the king's word that no harm should befall him at the hands of his enemies.

But the men of the Long Parliament, which met on 3rd November, knew that without Strafford the cause of Absolutism was lost, but with him might yet be won. Before anything else could be accomplished, Strafford must be overthrown. There were moderate men in that Parliament who believed that once the great earl was gone their own influence might prevail over Charles. There were others—the majority—who intended to have no compromise but to establish the supremacy of Parliament with the Crown subordinate to it. But the whole body was solidly resolved that the Crown should not be independent of Parliament. And the one man who might yet succeed in making it independent was Strafford.

THE first act in the drama now to be played was the duel between Parliament and Strafford. Parliament lost no time in striking. The Commons impeached the earl of treason and he reached London only to be arrested forthwith. Had the blow been delayed a few hours, their own leaders would have been arrested on the well-founded charge of treasonable intriguing with the Scots; but on 25th November Strafford was in the Tower.

But according to the recognised meaning of the law of treason there was no case. Strafford had not plotted against the king, though he had sought to set the king above the law. The Commons explained

2. Strafford
impeached,
1641.

treason as plotting against the nation, not the king, and there was ground for arguing that from their point of view Strafford was a public enemy. But few lawyers—if any—could maintain that to increase the power of the Crown was treason. The indictment charged him with seeking ‘to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England and Ireland,’ but this was not an offence against the Statutes of Treasons. When the trial opened before the House of Peers as judges in March 1641, it soon became clear that the law was on Strafford’s side, and that the Peers—though hardly less hostile to him than the Commons—would be bound in conscience to acquit him. Strafford would escape.

The Commons dared not let him escape; but there was only one legal way of preventing it—his condemnation by an Act of Attainder; since any Act whatever may legally be passed by ‘the king in Parliament.’ The Commons must proceed by ^{The Bill of} Attainder. law, since their whole case against the king’s government rested on the argument that it was contrary to the law and that Parliament was the champion of the law. When it became clear that the impeachment would break down, the leaders in the Commons brought in a Bill of Attainder against the earl.

The Commons passed it. The Lords passed it. But the king would most certainly be within his rights in rejecting it. Pym and Hampden themselves had hardly supported it, seeing that it was clearly unjust to pass a special law in order to punish a particular person for doing something which the existing law could not punish. Charles had sworn to Strafford that not a hair of his head should be touched. To him Strafford’s brain and Strafford’s loyalty were worth more than all the court put together. Every obligation of honour, of gratitude, of policy, bound the king to stand by Strafford even if it cost him his crown. And if he had dared to do so, many moderates at least would have been brought over to his side.

But he did not dare. The queen was frightened. The populace was clamouring for Strafford’s blood; there were rumours of a popish plot in which it was hinted that she had a share. If the ^{Strafford} mob were baulked of the earl’s life, they would turn on sacrificed. the queen and the king. Were all their lives to be sacrificed to a sentiment? In the court there was no voice raised urging Charles to play the man. Laud might have saved him from himself, but Laud too was in prison now, awaiting impeachment. Strafford generously advised Charles to yield, though hardly believing him capable of such baseness.

Charles yielded. The Bill became an Act of Attainder. Strafford was beheaded (12th May 1641). Before eight years were over, another head had fallen beneath the axe—the head of the king who had deserted him.

Six months had passed since the Long Parliament met. Meanwhile it had been busy over other matters besides the downfall of Strafford. 3. The Long Laud was in the Tower, preparatory to an impeachment. Parliament. Others of the Court, expecting a like fate, had fled the country. Men who had been thrown into prison during the period of arbitrary rule, the ‘Eleven Years’ Tyranny’ (1629-1640), were set at liberty. Ship-money was condemned as illegal; the stern application of the recusancy laws against Catholics was demanded. More than that, the Parliament had put out of reach the possibility of a renewal of the tyranny by passing two Bills to which Charles had not dared to refuse his assent; first, the Triennial Act, which required that Parliament should be summoned at least once in three years and might neither be dissolved nor prorogued till fifty days had passed; second, an Act declaring that the existing Parliament might not be dissolved except with its own consent—which as a matter of fact it did not give till 1660, though it was turned out of doors in 1648 and was not again assembled during the intervening years. Hence its name, the ‘Long Parliament.’

Between May and August, the legal machinery by which the Crown had enforced its will was wiped out; the arbitrary courts (those, that Abolition of is, which were not bound by the rules of the ordinary law-grievances. courts) of Star Chamber, High Commission, Council of the North, and Council of Wales were abolished. Other Acts expressly forbade all the methods of raising money which had been in dispute, Impositions, Tonnage and Poundage, Ship-money, Distraint of Knight-hood, and the rest. To all those Acts the king gave his assent. There could be no doubt at all, after this, that if the king did any of these things again he would be breaking the law. In all these matters the Commons and the majority of the Peers were at one.

The Scots army too was paid off, and retired across the border. But over another question the solid parliamentary ranks were splitting into The Root two hotly opposed parties. The Puritan section in the and Branch Commons brought in a Bill to exclude the bishops from Bill. the House of Lords, of which they had always been members. The Peers rejected the Bill, but the Puritans brought in

another, called the Root and Branch Bill because it proposed to abolish Prelacy altogether. Though it passed in the Commons, it was never introduced in the Lords where it would quite certainly have been thrown out. But it marked the end of parliamentary concord. Even in the Commons, a large proportion of members were sincere churchmen—a term which now meant laymen who supported the established Church; not clergy only as in mediæval times.

In Scotland too the old solid union was breaking up. The earl of Argyll, an astute intriguer with a reputation for piety, had won an ascendancy not at all to the liking of the many clans Scotland. who were jealous of the Clan Campbell, or of other nobles among whom was James Graham, earl of Montrose; while the marquis of Hamilton was trying vainly to keep in favour with both parties. In the autumn, shortly before the prorogation of Parliament in England, Charles paid a visit to Scotland, and tried to conciliate the Covenanters by making Argyll a marquis and Hamilton a duke, and bestowing the earldom of Leven upon Alexander Leslie; while there was a formal reconciliation between Argyll and Montrose who had been accused of plotting his assassination. Charles returned to England in November leaving Argyll practically in control of the government in Scotland, while Montrose, in opposition to Argyll, was the central figure of a growing royalist party.

While Charles was still in Scotland and the English Parliament was still prorogued, a fresh crisis arose in Ireland. Under Wentworth's strong hand, that country had been reduced to unwonted An Irish order, but not to content. The English and Scottish insurrection. colonists planted in Ulster during the reigns of Elizabeth and James were zealous enemies of popery, whereas nine-tenths of the Irish there and elsewhere were Roman Catholics. English and Scots still regarded the Irish as little better than savages; the Irish regarded English and Scots as aliens and robbers. Most of the great families, whether Protestants or Catholics, were loyalist, but not all; while there was no lessening of the hatred between the Catholic peasantry and the Protestant owners of the soil. Strafford's departure and fall encouraged the discontented chiefs to plot an insurrection. The plot was discovered, and some of the chiefs were seized, in October. Thereupon the peasants rose, and fell upon the colonists, of whom great numbers were massacred, while countless brutalities and atrocities were perpetrated.

STRAFFORD'S Irish army had been disbanded, in obedience to the

will of the English Parliament—which also met at the end of October. The news from Scotland had made them suspicious of the king's intentions; the news of the Protestant massacres in Ireland seemed to half of them to point to a popish plot with the king and queen at the bottom of it. The idea was grotesque, but that did not prevent it from being widely believed, at least by the advanced Puritans.

The truth about Ireland was bad enough; the popular rumours magnified its horrors tenfold. An army must be raised to take stern vengeance—but if the army were under the king's control, would he use it for that purpose, or to crush the liberties of England, to undo by force all that Parliament had done in the last twelve months? The troops must be raised, but under control not of the king but of officers appointed by Parliament—a thing unheard of. The imperative reasons for it then must be set forth. The leaders, Pym and others, drew up a Grand Remonstrance, a statement of all the illegal and arbitrary acts in the reign with which they charged the king and his advisers. Over the Grand Remonstrance, the Commons were riven in twain; debate was so hot that blood would have been shed on the floor of the House but for Hampden's exertions. It was carried at last, but only by a bare majority.

Three days later (25th November) the king arrived in London from Scotland. The Commons pushed forward their Army Bill, but Charles now believed that he could command support enough both in and out of Parliament to turn the tables on them. The Five Members,
January 1642. With more real insight and less craft he might in fact have won, for many were now more afraid of the tyranny of a parliamentary majority than of the king. Instead of displaying moderation and trusting to the growing reaction against the violence on the other side, he imagined that by a sudden blow at the leaders he would be able to shatter the opposition altogether—forgetting that, if the blow failed, it would recoil on his own head.

On 3rd January (1642) he laid before the House of Lords Articles of Impeachment against one of their own number (Kimbolton, soon to be known as earl of Manchester), and five prominent members of the House of Commons—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazellrigg, and Strode. Next day, both Houses denounced the Articles of Impeachment. Nevertheless on the following day Charles came down to the House of Commons himself, accompanied by an armed guard, to arrest the five members. But 'the birds had flown.' They had taken refuge

in the city of London, where they were safe under the protection of the city 'trained bands.' The king's invasion of the House of Commons was a flagrant breach of their privileges. The blow had miscarried.

A week later Charles left the capital. The Royalists in both Houses of Parliament followed his example. For six months vain negotiations were passing, but each side was determined to secure the decisive mastery for itself, and to put it out of the power of the other to recover ascendancy, and each side was in fact preparing for war. On 2nd August Charles unfurled his standard at Nottingham. The issue between King and Parliament was to be decided by force of arms.

Preparing
for war,
January-
August.

CHRONOLOGY

1603-1642.

GREAT BRITAIN.

- 1603-1625. JAMES I. and VI.
- 1604. Hampton Court Conference.
- 1605. Gunpowder Plot.
- 1606. Virginia Company.
- 1606. Bate's case.
- 1612. Death of Salisbury.
- 1612. Surat, first English 'factory' in India.
- 1618. Execution of Raleigh.
- 1620. First Puritan colony.
- 1624. Expedition to Netherlands.
- 1625-49. CHARLES I.
- 1625. First Parliament: dissolved.
- 1626. Second Parliament: dissolved. Forced loans.
- 1627. Rochelle expedition.
- 1628. Petition of Right.
Murder of Buckingham.
- 1629-40. Arbitrary rule without Parliament.
- 1630. Wentworth, President of the North.

EUROPE.

- 1598. Pacification of France under Henry iv. Edict of Nantes.
- 1609. Holland independent. Southern provinces are the 'Spanish Netherlands' till 1713.
- 1618. Beginning of Thirty Years' War.
- 1619. Ferdinand II., emperor.
- 1620. Battle of White Hill.
- 1624-42. Richelieu directs French policy.
- 1626. Wallenstein in Germany.
- 1631-32. Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

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| 1635. Ship-money levied inland. | 1634. Death of Wallenstein. |
| 1638. Scottish National Covenantant. | |
| 1639. Bishops' War. | |
| 1640. Long Parliament meets. | 1640-88. The 'Great Elector' of Brandenburg. |
| 1641. Execution of Strafford. Irish Insurrection. | |
| 1642. Attempted arrest of five Members, January. | 1642. Death of Richelieu. |
| Civil War begins, August. | |

STATUTES AND ORDINANCES, 1603-1642

THE **Impositions**, 1606 and 1608, increase duties at the ports by the king's authority, without reference to Parliament. The Judges affirm the legality of the king's action.

The **Petition of Right**, 1628, enacts—(1) That no one may be required to give or lend the king money or pay any tax not authorised by Parliament; (2) That no one may be imprisoned except on a definite charge of a breach of the law; (3) That billeting is illegal; (4) That the employment of martial law is illegal.

A writ of **Ship-money**, 1635, extends to the inland towns and counties as well as to the seaports. The right to levy ship-money on the ports for the purposes of naval defence had not been disputed.

Act of Strafford's Attainder, 1641.

Abolition of Arbitrary Courts, 1641.

Triennial Act, 1641.

THE MILITARY FORCES: TUDOR AND STEWART, TO 1642

THE military forces which kings of the House of Plantagenet (including Lancaster and York) had been able to call into the field were—(1) The old shire levies called the fyrd, which lost the old name and became known as the militia. But this force was available practically only for war on English soil; (2) The old feudal levies, when the king as suzerain called upon his tenants or vassals to join his standard according to the terms under which they held their land. This dropped out of use in the course of the French wars, because the feudal levy was useless for anything more than a campaign of a few weeks; (3) The Commissions of Array, which were only a variation on the summoning of the militia, and could provide only a small compulsory force; (4) Hired volunteers, who had displaced the early bands of foreign mercenaries; (5) The volunteer

trained bands of the boroughs, which were independent of the shire, were not available for foreign service, and were under the control of the borough itself. Thus practically the Tudors and the first Stewarts had at their disposal for foreign service only troops hired for the occasion (though partly under compulsion), who were disbanded at the end of the war instead of remaining with the colours under military discipline; and for service within the country, the shire levies or militia, civilians who now and then had a little training in the use of the pike and the 'arquebus,' as the hand-gun gradually took the place of the bow.

COMPOSITION OF TUDOR AND STEWART PARLIAMENTS

THE House of Commons consisted of members elected (*a*) for each borough, (*b*) for each shire. Towns which were not chartered boroughs were included in their shire. In the shires the electors were all persons who held a certain amount of land by freehold and all who had other property of a certain annual value. In the boroughs the rules varied; each had its own way of making the election, though generally it was the corporation, the body of persons who governed the borough under its charter, that chose its member.

Now since the time of Edward I. several of the original boroughs had lost their trade and sunk to mere villages; but they did not cease to be boroughs. Also kings and queens, especially Tudors, had given charters to quite small places and made them boroughs, reckoning that they could be counted on to elect members chosen by the Crown. In the small boroughs some great nobleman often had so much influence that the borough was sure to elect the man he chose for it. Even in the shires, great magnates could influence a great many votes. Thus there were always a number of members of the House of Commons who had been chosen really either by the Crown or by great nobles. That is no doubt one reason why the Commons, under the Tudors, almost always carried out the king's will—since the nobles under Henry VIII. did not dare, and under Elizabeth did not wish, to oppose the Crown. The rule ceased to work under James and Charles; because so many of the nobles were among the most determined of the opponents of the Crown. The members themselves, always knights of the shire in the early days, still came almost entirely from the landed gentry. All through however the House of Commons on the whole was fairly representative of public opinion in the country generally. And even under Henry VIII., if members of the Commons disliked what was proposed by the king's ministers, they were not afraid to say so. Thomas Cromwell got good for himself, not harm, by standing up for Wolsey.

CHAPTER VI

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION : 1642-1660.

I. The European Situation : 1642-1660.

The British Isles, 1642-60—Europe after the Thirty Years' War—
Europe and the Commonwealth.

EIGHTEEN years passed between the outbreak of the great Civil War in August 1642 and the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 ; eighteen years during which neither England, Ireland, nor Scotland knew a government which rested on established law. In one country or the other war was raging—though with a truce of some eighteen months—throughout the first half of the period. It was ended only by the flight of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester in 1651. Nearly three years earlier the English Parliament and its army had abolished the monarchy, declared a republic under the name of the Commonwealth, and beheaded the king. In 1653 the republican government yielded place to a military dictatorship—at the moment the only form of government capable of enforcing its authority, but one which could not possibly endure. The death of Cromwell in 1658 prepared the way for the restoration of the hereditary monarchy upon conditions which in 1641 would have satisfied three-fourths of the Parliament, at least before the Irish insurrection had made any sort of compromise impossible between the claims of the Crown and the claims of the Commons. Though the whole period is full of incident and interest, it is a break, a gap in our history. The Restoration joins on to the struggle of 1641 as the edges of a ragged wound join together—leaving a scar. Of all the constitutional experiments tried during the intervening years, not one left its traces in later developments.

Abroad however, during the second half of the period, England astonished the world by displaying a naval and military power such as she had not shown since the days of Elizabeth. The time was coming when she would be compelled to play a part in the general affairs of Europe more actively than ever before. This was to be very

largely the outcome of what was taking place on the Continent between 1642 and 1660.

IN 1642 the Thirty Years' War was still devastating Germany. In that year Richelieu died, and six months later Louis XIII. followed him to the grave. The great cardinal had almost completed his work. The Crown had mastered the nobles, but it still remained to be seen whether it could retain the mastery, under a king who was still in the nursery, and a regency at the head of which was the queen-mother, herself a Spaniard, whose great minister was the Italian cardinal Mazarin whom Richelieu had chosen to carry on his work.

2. Europe:
End of the
War.

Six years later the great struggle was ended by the treaties of Westphalia (1648). In the interval, the French armies led by Condé and Turenne, had made France the first military power in Europe, and German Elsass had become the French province of Alsace; but though at peace with Germany, France was still at war with Spain. On the other hand Spain, still retaining the 'Spanish Netherlands' finally recognised the independence of Holland, and Holland in the eyes of all the world was the leading maritime Power; with the best fighting navy, and very much the largest mercantile marine service. Her Stadtholder, William II. of Orange, was the husband of Charles I.'s daughter Mary; their son, not yet born, was one day going to marry another Mary Stewart, like himself the grandchild of Charles, and was to reign in England as William III. The union of the Houses of Stewart and Orange was to be of the greatest importance during the last quarter of the century.

In Germany, the Peace of Westphalia ended the cleavage of the empire into hostile Catholic and Protestant states. Both sides had realised at terrible cost that neither of them could crush the other. Religious antagonisms, though they still counted, ceased to be the leading influence in European rivalries. But apart from this the war had destroyed the imperialist policy of Ferdinand II. and Wallenstein. The imperial crown remained with the Austrian House of Hapsburg; but Austria was in fact only the most powerful among the vast number of really independent principalities which together were still called the Holy Roman Empire—though they rendered only a very shadowy allegiance to the emperor. On the other hand, the Hapsburgs had finally secured to themselves the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, besides their own German inheritance

The Empire.

of Austria; and this triple dominion is thenceforth known as Austria—though its head is still called ‘the Emperor.’

There is still at this time (1648) within Germany no other single state which can compare in power with Austria; none which can stand as her rival in the general leadership of Germany. There is still no ‘Prussia’ though Frederick William of Brandenburg, known to history as the Great Elector, is preparing his Electorate to become the ‘kingdom of Prussia’ under his son. The Electorates of Bavaria and of Saxony are still the most powerful of the other states. The eldest son of that Elector Palatine Frederick who fought so unsuccessfully for the Bohemian crown is now a Roman Catholic and Elector Palatine but with much reduced dominions. His Protestant brothers, Rupert and Maurice, have been fighting for their uncle, Charles I. of England. His Protestant sister Sophia is presently going to marry the duke of Brunswick, the future Elector of Hanover; their son will become George I., king of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1714.

Sweden is still a military Power of the first rank, but her intervention in the Thirty Years’ War has only given her the half-German province of Pomerania on the Baltic with Bremen and Verden.

It was in the second half of our period that the leadership of Europe definitely passed to France. Henry IV. of France, fifty years earlier, had feared a domination by the Hapsburgs, with the Austrian branch of the family masters of Germany and sharing with the Spanish branch the mastery of Italy and the Mediterranean. After the Thirty Years’ War Austria’s chance of dominating Germany had gone; for the time at least it was Spain and the Spanish Netherlands that stood in the way of the ambition for expansion to the Rhine which Richelieu had implanted in the minds of his countrymen. Yet Spain, who had abated none of her pretensions, was greatly enfeebled. She had finally been obliged to admit the completeness of her defeat by Holland, and Portugal was battling for her own independence under the House of Braganza whose stronger claim to her crown Philip II. had thrust aside when he seized the throne for himself in 1580.

So when the treaties of Westphalia ended the German war France did not make peace with Spain. Nevertheless the contest was for awhile suspended by the civil war of the Fronde, the last triumph. Mazarin’s attempt of a section of the French nobles headed by Condé to wrest from the Crown the powers which Richelieu had won for it. In the end, Mazarin and the queen triumphed; then the Spanish war

was brought to a successful issue by the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 ; and young Louis XIV., taking over the control of the State from the hands of the great minister, found himself an Autocrat, a ruler whose personal will was law throughout his dominions—one who could proclaim as a simple matter of fact '*L'État, c'est moi !*'

Now we may see how these events affected England. While the armed struggle was in progress between Charles I. and Parliament, she had neither opportunity nor inclination to take even the smallest share in the turmoil on the Continent ; nor had the continental Powers leisure to intervene in England. The French queen-mother and regent, Anne 'of Austria,' had too much to do in maintaining her own authority in France to extend active sympathy to Henrietta Maria in her troubles. The ink had not long been dry on the treaties of Westphalia when Charles I. was beheaded (January 1649). There was no single court in Europe which would recognise the 'Regicide Government' in England, but there was none which would commit itself to active support of the fugitive Charles II. France was plunging into the broils of the Fronde. The sister of young Charles was the wife of the Dutch Stadtholder, but William who was planning to make himself not Stadtholder but King, could offer his brother-in-law nothing more than shelter. He failed in his design, and died some days before the birth of William III. in 1650 ; for twenty-two years the House of Orange was excluded from the Dutch Republican Government.

The English Republican Government hoped for a moment to seal a close union with the Dutch ; but maritime and commercial rivalry counted for more than agreement in republican theories of State, Calvinistic doctrines of religion, and traditional hostility to the Spaniard as a common foe. Instead of joining together, the English Commonwealth and the Dutch States-General from 1652 to 1654 were fighting their hardest against each other in the Channel and on the high seas ; with the balance of success slightly in favour of the English, who never again fell definitely to the second place, though the Dutch still for a long time maintained an equality with them.

The Dutch war was brought to an end by Cromwell, whose ideas were those of the Elizabethans of the school of Drake and Walsingham. Popery, militant and aggressive, was still in his eyes the enemy against which all Protestants should unite, regard-

3. Europe
and the
Common-
wealth.

Holland and
England.

Cromwell
and Europe.

less of other considerations of political expediency. England ought above all to be the leader of Protestantism, the champion of toleration at least for Protestants everywhere. Elizabeth herself had hauled Drake, and saved Spain from destruction in order to preserve her as a counterpoise to France and maintain the 'Balance of Power.' For the Protector, such a purely political consideration was a mere feather in the balance against the duty of guarding freedom of conscience—and Protestants were still being persecuted by Catholic rulers. Therefore he desired in the first place alliance, not war, with the nation which had so valiantly upheld its own Protestantism against apparently irresistible persecution; and in the second place he was ready to fight with Spain or France, either or both, or to ally himself with either in defence of the Protestant cause. As for the Balance of Power, England would see to it that she could hold her own, 'Come the three quarters of the world in arms.' Hence in the end he joined with France against Spain, since France, though avowedly Catholic, was committed to the principle of toleration; her greatest soldier, Turenne himself, being a Huguenot. Thus Cromwell very materially helped to establish the ascendancy of France in Europe—and he did not live to see the use Louis was to make of his power when England, without knowing it, was being piloted by a king whose views were at the farthest possible remove from Cromwell's. The Protector's sword would assuredly have held the path against the French king's aggressive schemes the moment they were laid bare. But both Protestantism and French aggression were less than nothing to King Charles II., who sold his neutrality to Louis for the cash which was to release him from the shackles of Parliament.

II. The Great Rebellion : 1642-1649.

Character of the Struggle—Cavaliers and Roundheads—Royalist Successes, 1642-3—The Tide turns, 1644—The Decisive Struggle, 1644-5—Divisions and Intrigues, 1646-8—Fall of the Monarchy, 1648-9.

THE first big civil war in England, the Wars of the Roses, had not been fought for any principles at all. It had simply been a struggle for supremacy between factions of nobles, in which it was a matter of almost complete indifference to the country at large whether the victory should fall to York or to Lancaster. The second, the struggle which we are now to describe, was fought for principles all of which could have been preserved if the

Parliament had been able to trust the king to abide loyally by terms of agreement which all moderate men on both sides would have accepted with satisfaction. But the king had shown that if he was forced to accept such a compromise, he would only await the first opportunity to overturn it by force, and the Parliament had shown that a large part of it would treat the agreement as a means to acquire more power for itself. Therefore when it became clear that the differences could not be settled by agreement but only by force of arms, a large proportion of the moderates ranged themselves on the king's side. The king's rights as he conceived them, and the Parliament's rights as the majority of the Commons conceived them, could be brought into harmony by goodwill on both sides, honesty on both sides, and confidence on each side in the honesty and goodwill of the other. But after the Root and Branch Bill, the Grand Remonstrance, and the attempted arrest of the five Members, there was little goodwill left—though there was plenty of honesty—and no confidence at all. War came. The simple victory of the Parliament would mean that the king would be merely the servant of Parliament. The simple victory of the king would mean that henceforth he would be an autocrat, taking his own way without check. But to escape defeat, the Parliament had to organise an army which was master of the situation, a Puritan army which fought, more than anything else, to win freedom of conscience; then the army discovered that freedom of conscience was not to be had either from the king or from the Parliament. Therefore it ejected the Parliament, beheaded the king, and finally made its own chief a military dictator, an autocrat whose power—whether he used it for good or for evil—was maintained only by the terror his veterans inspired.

THE contest was not one between an aristocracy and a down-trodden people; it has no resemblance to the French Revolution. It was a fight between those who saw less danger in the rule of an autocrat than in the rule of an overbearing majority in the Commons, and those who saw less danger in the rule of the elected representatives of the people than in that of a self-willed prince managed by unscrupulous favourites; those who revered the traditions of the Church and those to whom her ceremonies were the trapings of Antichrist; those whose watchword was loyalty, and those whose watchword was liberty—because to those who loved both loyalty and liberty it appeared that one or other must be surrendered for a time. To each side, the whole of the other was tarred with the

same brush as its worst or most extreme members. To the Cavaliers, all the Puritans were fanatics or hypocrites; to whom they in turn were all godless and licentious 'Malignants.' Both sides were recruited from every class of the community in every part of the country. Besides nine-tenths of the clergy, two-thirds of the nobility and of the bigger landed gentry were on the side of Church and King, Cavaliers and Round-heads. 'Royalists,' 'Cavaliers'; but one-third were on the side of Puritanism and Parliament, 'Roundheads,' as they were nicknamed by the Cavaliers with whom it was the fashion to wear their hair in flowing love-locks. The proportions were reversed among the smaller landowners and yeomen and the burgesses of the towns. Nearly all the ports, and the fleet, were with Parliament. Roughly speaking, the east was on the same side; the north and west favoured Church and Crown as they had clung to the old Church in the days of Henry VIII. There was no national army; but the Parliament called up the militia of the shires and the trained bands of the boroughs, while the king issued 'Commissions of array' and landlords brought their tenants into the field; with the result that for a long time the Royalists were well provided with troops of horse, while the Roundheads relied mainly on the pikes of the trained bands. Both sides needed money, but while Cavaliers sacrificed their private possessions to supply the Royalist treasury, the Parliament held the ports and all the machinery for collecting revenue.

When the war began, neither side showed much understanding of the military art; though the young gentlemen in the squadrons of Leaders and the Cavaliers were expert swordsmen and admirable methods. horsemen, recklessly daring, while the Roundhead pikemen would stand shoulder to shoulder with a courage as obstinate as that of the Cavaliers was fiery. The king had a brilliant but over-confident general and cavalry leader in his nephew, Prince Rupert of the Palatinate. The Parliament had a prudent but over-cautious chief in the earl of Essex, the son of the ill-fated favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

For the Parliament the defence of London and for the king its capture appeared rightly enough to be the first necessity. The Roundheads had the advantage of holding what are called the interior lines—the small semicircle near the centre, London—with the Royalists on the big semicircle outside it. They could draw their troops together at one point, on short notice, much more quickly, so that they could meet in force any attack that was made, or strike in force where the

emy's line was weakest. But they never tried striking; they waited to be attacked. On the other hand, Charles should have gathered his troops together so as to strike the hardest possible blow, but the Royalists were scattered all over the country, holding here a rough and there a castle or manor house on the defence of which it was not worth while to waste a single man. But they did not wait to be attacked; they struck when they saw the chance, though not always wisely. And therefore, for a year and a half, they had more successes to show than their opponents—who nevertheless still blocked the way to the capital.

We shall not follow the campaigns in detail, but we shall watch to see how and why the second eighteen months were so different from the first.

Charles was at Nottingham on the borders of the north country when he raised the standard to which his followers gathered. He began his march towards Oxford where he meant his headquarters to be, but found his way blocked by the Parliament's troops under Essex, at Edgehill. The cavalry on his right under Rupert charged the Roundhead left, swept it away, but rode on headlong pursuit instead of flinging themselves on the exposed flank and rear. What Rupert did on one wing, Wilmot did on the other. When they did come back they found that the rest of the Roundhead army had more than held its own, and but for their arrival would have defeated the Royalists. As it was, the battle was drawn. Essex however chose to fall back and bar the way to London rather than risk defeat which would have left the capital exposed; while Charles continued his march to Oxford. As was to happen over and over again, Rupert's hot-headedness lost the advantage his brilliancy had won, while Essex's caution led him to retire when a bold advance might have given him decisive victory.

An attempt to dash on the capital from Oxford was held up by the London trained bands at Turnham Green. Through the first half of 1643 in the north the earl of Newcastle, for the king, was clearing the country, though the Roundheads were holding it stoutly in Hull under Fairfax. In the west country the Royalist Hopton crowned a series of successes by the victory of Roundway Down in June and the capture of Bristol in July, though the south coast ports and Gloucester were still held by the Parliament. John Hampden, the type of what was best on the Parliament side, had

3. The War:
1642,
Edgehill.

1643,
Royalist
successes.

been killed in the skirmish of Chalgrove Field in June—a great loss. But neither Hopton nor Newcastle would move upon London while Hull was on the rear of one, and the ports on the rear of the other.

Therefore the king instead of thrusting against Essex for London turned west against Gloucester. Essex advanced to its relief. Charles retired and threw himself between Essex and London, but Essex fought him off at Newbury (September) and got back to his position between London and Oxford.

But meanwhile there were other movements going on besides those of the armies in the field. Colonel Oliver Cromwell, a landowner of Huntingdon and M.P. for Cambridge, had seen at Edgehill what was most needed. However stoutly the Roundheads might fight on the defensive, they lacked the fire and dash of the Cavaliers, without which they would never win decisively. Officers and men must be bent not on mere defence but on victory. He left the front, to organise in the eastern counties the fresh troops which he was to weld into an irresistible weapon, picking his men for their zeal in the Cause and training them under an iron discipline. The fervour of the zealot was to take the place of the sentiment of honour which made the charging Cavaliers irresistible. And his officers were chosen and promoted because they proved themselves fit to command. But the time had not yet come when he was to lead them to victory—though in that September it was very near.

In that same month, Royalism established its ascendancy in Ireland. In 1642 a large body of Catholics was in revolt against English rule, Ireland: the while the rest were loyal to the king's government. But Cessation. the loyal Catholics would not endure subjection to a Puritan English Parliament. To win the support of Catholic Ireland, Charles was ready to promise whatever the Catholics demanded. The revolutionist Catholics saw wisdom in uniting with their loyalist brethren for the overthrow of the English Parliament—whatever they might do later. So Anglican Protestants, loyalist Catholics, and anti-English Catholics, combined as Royalists, and only the remnant of English and Scottish Presbyterians or Puritans stood out for the cause of Parliament. The close of the contest between the Irish rebels and the king's Government is known as the 'Cessation' (September 1643).

Of still more importance than Ireland was Scotland. Charles had left the government practically in the hands of the Covenanters headed by Argyll; the Royalists, headed by Montrose, were a small minority.

Scotland was not directly concerned in the quarrel between her king and his English subjects, but she soon saw that if the king won the victory decisively the Covenant would be in danger. Argyll negotiated both with the king and with Pym, the head of what claimed to be the English Parliament and Government at Westminster—a Roundhead Government because all the Royalist members had departed. Charles rejected the demands put forward by Argyll as the price of Scottish support; Pym was ready with an acceptable agreement. In September the Scots Government and the English commissioners signed the Solemn League and Covenant. Scotland was pledged to enter the war on the side of Parliament, while Scots and English both guaranteed the establishment and maintenance of ‘true religion’ in both countries; which the Scots took to mean Presbyterianism, though that was not stated. Both professed loyalty to the Crown and its lawful rights.

Scotland.

The Solemn
League and
Covenant.

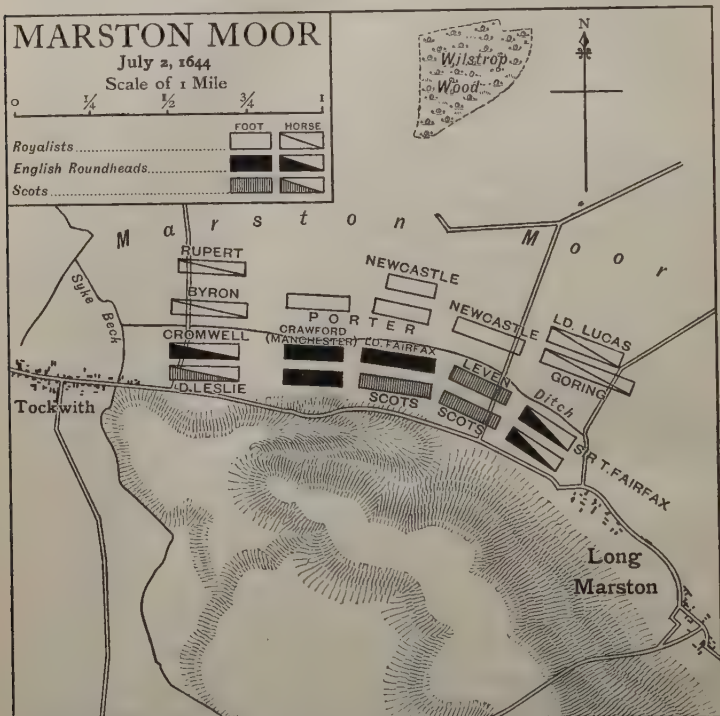
In October Cromwell’s Ironsides first took the field and showed their quality by routing at Winceby, in Lincolnshire, a Royalist incursion from the north, and Newcastle had to raise the siege of Hull. In January 1644 a Scots army crossed the border under Leven and his kinsman David Leslie. The Royalists in the north, with this new army to fight, were driven gradually into York, to which the combined forces of Leven and the Fairfaxes from Hull laid siege.

4. The Scots
invasion,
1644.

To crush them, the new levies from the eastern counties were despatched under Manchester, with Cromwell in command of the cavalry, to join the besiegers in June. Rupert, who had been operating in Lancashire, made a successful dash for York. Manchester, fearing that his line of communication with the eastern counties would be cut, began to retire southwards. Rupert, hoping to smite and scatter the enemy while they were on the run, started in pursuit. Manchester not only halted to give battle; he opened the attack himself. In the centre a furious battle raged. Goring’s horse on the Royalist left swept away Fairfax’s cavalry, and according to custom rode off the field in pursuit. But Cromwell’s horse on the other wing for the first time shattered Rupert’s, which hitherto had been irresistible, then halted, and turned to crash upon the Royalist flank and rear, uncovered by the rout of Rupert. The result was that the Royalist army of the north was destroyed at the battle of Marston Moor (July), Rupert escaping with only a remnant.

Marston
Moor.

The whole of the north and the east were now under Roundhead control. In the west, on the other hand, the Parliament's troops were meeting first with success and then with disaster. A victory at



Emery Walker sc.

Cropredy Bridge (June) was followed by the advance of Essex to Devon and Cornwall. Charles swept down on his rear from Oxford, trapped him at Lostwithiel and compelled most of the force to surrender, though Essex escaped by sea (August). Manchester was now coming down from the north (where the Scots remained), to cut off the king's return to Oxford. The second battle of Newbury (October) ought to have ended the war, but owing to Manchester's slackness, Charles succeeded in passing to Oxford with his main force still unbroken.

It was in fact clear that Cromwell had found the way to victory but

that still it would not be won while the highest commands were held by Manchester and Essex, who would not strike hard when they had the chance. The Royalists had lost their ascendancy, but they were still far from being crushed and might yet recover the upper hand.

TWELVE months after the escape at Newbury, the Royalist army had ceased to exist; only scattered fragments of it were holding out or eluding pursuit. Its overthrow was wrought by Crom- 5. Decision, well's 'New Model' army, but for the first six months, 1644-5. while that force was being built up, it appeared that neither side dared to risk a decisive action in England.

In Scotland however Royalist hopes ran high. There it seemed that the country stood solid in support of the Covenant Government whose best troops and commanders were engaged in England, Montrose on the Marston Moor campaign. But Montrose, who was in Scotland. with the king, believed that the Government could be overturned. Charles allowed him to make the attempt. In the summer he slipped back to Scotland in disguise, and made his way into the Highlands—bearing the new title of marquis and a commission from the king to act as lieutenant-governor. In August the Royalist clans—those who hated the Campbells—were rallying to his call. A Government force, thrice the size of his own, was despatched to crush him; he routed it at Tippermuir in September (1644). The swiftness of his movements and the enthusiasm of his followers brought his small band victory after victory—always in the Highlands—during the winter and spring; all Scotland rang with his exploits, and the Scots army in England was tied to the north by the fear that if he burst down from the Highlands into the Lowlands, they would have to recross the border bag and baggage to meet him. But it was one thing to lead the clansmen against rival clans among their own mountains, and another to persuade them to descend into the Lowlands and carry on a systematic campaign. Before Montrose was ready for the attempt, the king's cause in England was lost.

Newbury had finally convinced Cromwell and many others that the army must be rebuilt, in the fashion of which Cromwell had set the example in the eastern counties. Most of the Parliament Army men who continued to sit at Westminster were Presby- reform. terians; most of the officers were Parliament men who were also Presbyterians; and Presbyterian orthodoxy was the way to promotion. But a large proportion of the Puritans everywhere outside Parliament were

'Independents' who wanted religious freedom—which they were hardly more likely to get from a Presbyterian majority in Parliament than from the Episcopalian Royalists. Of this they were not yet aware; but they did see that if Puritanism was to win, and religious freedom was to be won, the officers must be chosen for their military ability, not their Presbyterian orthodoxy or their social position. Otherwise the king would never be thoroughly beaten, and until he was thoroughly beaten, satisfactory securities for religious freedom would never be obtained from him.

Cromwell therefore, returning to Westminster, urged that there must be a clean sweep of the inefficient and half-hearted. The result was **The New Model.** that both Houses passed the 'Self-denying Ordinance,' that every officer who was a member of either House should resign his command. There was nothing to prevent reappointment—which to start with was in the hands of Parliament; and Cromwell's own command was continued, for the simple reason that no one else could do the work for which he was needed. In place of Essex, Sir Thomas Fairfax was made general-in-chief, and the place of second-in-command was reserved for Cromwell, though it was not yet given to him.

It was not only the officers but the whole organisation of the troops that required to be remodelled. Here a change was made which **A Standing Army.** really created the Standing Army. From that day to this, the country has always had a body of disciplined troops under arms and bound to take its orders from the Government. In earlier days, companies were raised when war broke out or was threatened; when the war was over they were all disbanded. In the Civil War, the companies raised had been maintained and paid by the districts in which they were levied. In Cromwell's 'New Model,' the troops, wherever they were levied, were maintained and paid out of the national revenue—it must be remembered that Parliament collected the taxes while the king depended on voluntary contributions. Some of the troops were never disbanded at all, and thus the 'New Model' raised by the Parliament proved to be the root from which grew the national 'Regular Army.' Finally, in recruiting, in the appointment of officers, and in the discipline of the troops, Cromwell was able to carry out the methods which had been so successful already with his 'Ironsides.'

Fairfax and Cromwell were agreed upon the true military policy—to force a decisive engagement upon the king's main army and crush

it as the Royalist northern army had been crushed at Marston Moor. For a time they were hampered by orders from the Parliament at Westminster, but at last they were set free. Charles had moved north from Oxford, hoping that Montrose would burst down through the Scottish Lowlands and succeed in joining forces with him. But before the attempt could be made, Fairfax came upon him at Naseby (14th June). The battle was very much like that at Marston Moor. Rupert on one wing, Cromwell on the other, shattered the opposing cavalry; Rupert rode on in pursuit, Cromwell halted his troopers, turned, and fell upon the flank and rear of the Royalist infantry. The Royalist army was shattered, though both Charles and Rupert escaped from the field; all the Royalist stores fell into the hands of the victors, and with them a quantity of the king's correspondence which showed that he had been intriguing for aid from France.

In England the following months were occupied in reducing the scattered garrisons of Cavaliers, which held out stoutly till Cromwell brought down siege-guns—so that they could surrender with honour when resistance meant merely destruction which could serve no useful purpose. In the Scottish Highlands Montrose for a time continued his brilliant career, crowned by a victory at Kilsyth two months after Naseby. Kilsyth was followed by a desperate attempt to turn the tide—for Naseby had set the Scots army free to return across the border. Montrose dashed down from the Highlands. But the clansmen had no mind for a campaign in the Lowlands. He found his followers reduced to less than one thousand men, half of them an Irish contingent which had been brought over to reinforce him, ill-disciplined and half-hearted. The whole force was surprised and cut to pieces by David Leslie with his veterans at Philiphaugh on 13th September (1645).

Scotland:
Philip-
haugh
(Sept.).

BOTH in England and in Scotland the next six months were spent in stamping out the embers of Royalist resistance. In May 1646, Charles—who, while he shifted from place to place, negotiated sometimes with the Scots and sometimes with the English, hoping always that the growing dissensions and disagreements among his enemies would break them up—finally surrendered himself not to the English but to the Scots. For among his enemies in the war there were three groups: (1) the Scots, who wanted Presbyterianism securely established in Scotland, without any admixture of

6. The King
a captive,
1646.

'Prelacy,' while they were also eager to see the same system established in England ; (2) the Presbyterian majority in the English Parliament, with their supporters in the country, who wanted Roundhead divisions, in the first place the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown, and in the second the establishment of Presbyterianism as the English system of Church government ; (3) the Independents, of whom the best troops and the trusted officers of the victorious New Model army were composed, who were bent above everything on religious equality for all professedly Christian sects except Papists and Prelatists—partly because the latter were in their eyes disguised Papists, partly because the Prelatical clergy were to a man supporters of the political doctrine of Divine Right. What the king wanted to do was to make terms for his own restoration to power which would satisfy the Presbyterians in both countries for a time and unite them in supporting him. When he had so far recovered power, he could trust to continued Puritan dissensions to enable him to recover more. While he was working out his negotiations with the three parties, he would be more secure in the Scots camp than anywhere else.

Charles failed to satisfy either the Scots or the English Parliament ; but those two came to terms. The Scots would retire from England King, altogether when they received the payment for their army Parliament, promised them when the Solemn League and Covenant was and Army. made ; and they would hand over the king to the charge of the Parliament. In February 1647 the bargain was carried out : Charles was handed over and was placed under guard, though with considerable liberty, at Holmby House.

Parliament was the Government—but, if the worst came to the worst, the army could take the law into its own hands. The Government therefore wished to disband half of it and send the other half to Ireland. The army declined to be sent to Ireland or to be disbanded till it received the pay due to it, and the security for religious liberty and equality for which it had fought. It could not afford to let Charles and the Government come to terms which would rob it of the one thing it was determined to have—religious freedom. In June, the army, without authority from the Government, took the king away from Holmby House and kept him under its own guard at Hampton Court, near London, while it set up an 'Army Council' on its own account, to act as its mouth-piece ; Cromwell and Fairfax acting together.

Neither officers nor men wished to usurp the Government ; but they were determined that the settlement should be one which they could

accept. It was clear that Parliament intended to make a settlement which they would not accept, though the terms they themselves proposed were as reasonable a compromise as could well have been devised. But Charles thought he could get more by playing off Army and Parliament against each other; Parliament wanted to get the army out of the way; and the army was solidly determined to stand its ground. It took up its quarters in or near London. Then Charles tried to escape to France, but was captured and detained in stricter custody at Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight. From Carisbrooke however he continued to intrigue with the Scots, who were on very bad terms with the English Independents and Army Chiefs, and with the Parliament leaders. By promises which he may or may not have intended to carry out, he brought over a large body of Scots to his side.

In fact it became evident in the spring of 1648 that his real object was not to come to an agreement, but so to divide the others against themselves that he could recover the mastery by a military blow. In April the Welsh Royalists rose in arms; the rising was followed up by another Royalist insurrection in the south-eastern counties, as soon as Cromwell had been despatched to suppress that in Wales. Fairfax marched to suppress this second rising. In July, before either of them had finished, a Scots army under the marquis of Hamilton was over the border, for the king—very badly led and organised. Cromwell, his Welsh business barely completed, hurried north, caught the advancing Scots in flank at Preston (17th August), cut their force in two, and shattered first one half and then the other, taking thousands of prisoners. When Fairfax forced the eastern insurgents to surrender at Colchester, the risings were at an end.

But the insurrections had forced upon the Army Chiefs—rightly or wrongly—the conviction first that all the king's negotiations were a mere pretence, to enable him to gain sufficient power to recover all that he had made a show of surrendering, and secondly that the majority in Parliament were working not for the common cause but for the overthrow of the army, in conjunction with a faction of the Scots. In the absence of both Cromwell and Fairfax, the Army Council took the law into their own hands. On 6th December Colonel Pride marched down to the Houses of Parliament with a body of troops, and allowed only the few members who were trusted by the army to pass through. This remnant, known as The Rump—the

7. Royalist
Risings,
1648.

Preston.

Pride's
Purge.

exclusion of the rest was known as 'Pride's Purge'—proceeded to act as if it possessed all the powers of a legal Government.

It passed a resolution that it was high treason for a king to levy war against Parliament. It created a new High Court of Justice, of one hundred and thirty-five commissioners, to try Charles on the charge of treason. It passed another resolution, declaring that a resolution of the House of Commons was law whether it received the assent of the Peers and the Crown or not. It had no legal authority whatever, but behind it was the irresistible force of the army, resolved now to have done with all compromise and to remove once for all what it had come to regard as the insuperable obstacle to the restoration of order. While Charles lived there could be no security. When he was dead, the army would not seek to rule, but it would have a Government which it imagined it could trust.

The Court assembled; more than half the commissioners, including Fairfax, would not attend. The king, with the law on his side, denied that the Court had any lawful authority and refused to plead. From Scotland came a protest against the trial of the king of Scots by an English tribunal. Nevertheless the trial went forward. Claiming to be a legally constituted Court, the commissioners had only one course open to them. The charge of 'treason' was made; no defence was offered. The verdict was a foregone conclusion: 'the man Charles Stewart' was guilty, and the sentence was death. On 30th January 1649 the king of England, Ireland, and Scotland was beheaded before the palace of Whitehall. The tragedy was done.

III. The Rump: 1649-1653.

Effect of Charles I.'s Death—The Commonwealth and Ireland—
The Commonwealth and Scotland—The Dutch War.

THE execution of Charles I. was a tremendous shock to the English people. Men knew their Bibles in those days, when not many other books came in their way, better than they do now; few of them doubted that the words of Scripture were inspired by God; in their eyes the king, whether good or bad, was still 'the Lord's anointed,' whom it might be lawful to depose, but whom it was certainly not lawful to slay. When the Civil War began, no one was fighting to overthrow the monarchy and set up a republic; what the Parliament and the 'popular' side wanted was to fix once for all

such limits to the royal power as would secure to the representatives of the people their lawful rights and liberties. When the 'First Civil War' was ended by the king's surrender to the Scots, it was already clear that on the popular side there were two main parties, neither of them republican (though there were some republicans in both). One wanted to secure toleration and equal treatment for any kind of Christian belief, while the other wanted compulsory uniformity, one form of worship, one accepted creed, under one system of Church government, Presbyterianism. This party was predominant in Parliament, the other in the Army. To Charles, the Crown and the Anglican Church were alike divinely ordained; the king could surrender neither his own authority nor that of the Church. His conscience forbade him to agree either to toleration or to the substitution of Presbyterianism for Episcopacy. But it did not forbid him to seek a compromise with Presbyterianism, or to keep up an appearance of negotiation with the army. Until the outbreak of the Second Civil War in 1648, the Army Chiefs were losing popularity with the extremists among their own followers by striving for a settlement which would restore to the monarchy all its dignity and much of its power. The Royalist risings and the Scots invasion convinced them that they had been wrong and the monarchy must go. It was the army, not the nation, which resolved that the king must die, while the country looked on—half-stunned, indignant, but helpless. The king's personal virtues had always commanded respect; the quiet dignity of his conduct during the last weeks inspired—and deserved—the highest admiration; the sight of fallen greatness joined with fortitude always arouses sympathy; the flagrant illegality of his death appealed to the common sense of justice. It was not law but force that had finally triumphed; and in the popular imagination King Charles was clothed in the robes of martyrdom.

THERE was no legal authority left. By right of succession, the Prince of Wales, Charles II., a lad in his nineteenth year and actually an exile, was king; but in fact the monarchy had ceased to exist. The Rump had assumed the authority which rested not upon law but upon military force. It proceeded to proclaim England a Commonwealth (a term which may be called a translation of the Roman or Latin *res publica*) in which all authority rested in the Rump itself. It appointed a Council of State to carry out the administrative work of government—work which in fact the Council

2. The
Common-
wealth, 1649.

did with great efficiency. Still however, though the campaigns of 1648 had proved that in England armed insurrection had no possible chance of success, there was plenty of fighting necessary elsewhere before the Commonwealth could feel secure.

The immediate danger lay in Ireland. There, when the king was dead, neither Royalists nor separatist Catholics would endure the rule

Ireland. of the new Puritan government at Westminster which—

in opposition to Cromwell's personal judgment—soon began to take vindictive measures against Cavaliers and to refuse toleration to the Episcopalians lest their gatherings for worship should be used as a cloak for conspiracy. Catholics and Protestant Royalists in Ireland combined to defy the rule of the Commonwealth. It was necessary to crush them, and for that purpose Cromwell was sent with troops to Ireland.

Even in the second Civil War, Royalists in arms had been treated as rebels—a course which neither side had taken in the first Civil War.

Cromwell Now it became the rule. Cromwell went to Ireland with in Ireland. the old Elizabethan belief that the Irish were savages who could only be held down by terrorism: to this was added the feeling that the atrocities committed in the rebellion of 1641 deserved pitiless punishment; while his Puritan convictions taught him that Catholic priests were the servants of Antichrist whom it was his duty to smite and spare not. Moreover, he held that by striking crushing blows much spilling of blood would be saved in the long run.

Drogheda, a Royalist stronghold, refused to surrender. The recognised rule of warfare was that when a fortified place refused terms and was taken by storm, its sack was justified. Drogheda was stormed; no quarter was given to men carrying arms—or to Catholic priests. The same fate befell Wexford, where the troops got out of hand and there was some violence done to the civilians. After Drogheda and Wexford, other garrisons capitulated. Those two places stand out as the exceptions to the general practice throughout our civil wars, though similar and far worse cases had been a matter of course in the wars on the Continent.

But Cromwell did not stop there. Most of the land in Ulster was confiscated, and on it were planted as settlers the soldiers of his

The Irish army, an armed garrison in a hostile country. The settlement, business was carried through not by Cromwell himself 1650.

—who was needed elsewhere—but by his son-in-law Ireton. Rebellion could not again raise its head. Cromwell left

Ireland eight months after Drogheda. But those two terrible blows left on the minds of the Irish people the same sort of impression that the Marian persecution of Protestants had left in England. The horrors could not compare with the horrors of what took place on the continent—but, though centuries passed, the fires of Smithfield and the curse of Cromwell have never been forgotten or forgiven.

Meanwhile England had been engaged in a maritime contest which was the first step in the recovery of the leadership she had won in 1588, but had allowed to decay. When the second Civil War broke out, Prince Rupert had taken to the seas, and in the new character of sailor soon became a serious danger to the Commonwealth's shipping. The reorganising of the navy was vigorously taken up by the Council of State; the command of the fleet was given to a distinguished soldier, Robert Blake, who is commonly reckoned as being, after Nelson and Drake, the greatest of English admirals. He proved more than a match for the Royalist soldier-admiral, whom he pursued and finally defeated in the Mediterranean (1650)—the first appearance of the English fleet in the great inland sea, where later it was to play so tremendous a part.

CROMWELL was recalled from Ireland in May 1650 because a dangerous situation had arisen in Scotland. The defeat of the Royalists at Preston had restored the ascendancy of Argyll and the Covenanters. But all Scotland had professed loyalty to the king's person, even when in arms against him, and all Scotland resented the execution of the king of Scots by the English, while they had no goodwill to Cromwell, to the army, or to the new government.

Still the Covenanters were in no haste to set Charles II. on the throne. They must first sign the Covenant himself. Charles would not sign if they could help it. Montrose joined him in Holland (where in 1649 his brother-in-law was still stadtholder) and obtained permission to attempt his restoration by force of arms. He made his way to the far north where he landed and raised the royal standard. But the chiefs in the far north had no hate for Argyll and the Campbells, and were more inclined to support the government than to fight it. Montrose's few followers soon fell away; he himself was captured, handed over to Argyll, and hanged as a 'traitor,' to the government's eternal disgrace. Even so had Edward I. dealt with Wallace. So shamefully perished the brilliant soldier and gallant

gentleman, who with heroic devotion had sacrificed himself for a doomed cause.

Charles had not raised a finger to save his most loyal subject. Seeing no other way to recover his crown he accepted Argyll's terms, returned to Scotland, signed the Covenant, and was accepted as king. Scotland of course was entirely within her rights. Charles II. in Scotland, king. Scotland of course was entirely within her rights. 1650.

The English government had no sort of authority there—but the English government dared not allow the son of Charles I. to sit on the Scottish throne and scheme for the recovery of the English crown. Neither threats nor arguments moved the Scots. The English government prepared for war. But Fairfax, the general-in-chief, refused to take the command; his resignation was accepted with reluctance and Cromwell was for the first time placed in supreme command.

Cromwell advanced into Scotland, but could not outmanœuvre David Leslie, a skilful soldier, and had to fall back on Dunbar where he was enclosed between the hills which were strongly held and the sea by which alone, as it seemed, he could escape. Cromwell in Scotland, the sea by which alone, as it seemed, he could escape 1650-1. disaster. But the influence of the Scots clergy, the ministers who accompanied their army, was too strong for the authority of their general. At their bidding the troops moved down from the hills; the amazed Cromwell seized the unlooked-for opportunity, fell upon them while the movement was in progress, and shattered them in the great rout of Dunbar (3rd September 1650)—very much as they had been shattered at Pinkie a century before.

But the Scots were not crushed, and the authority of the ministers and the extreme Covenanters was discredited by the defeat for which they alone had been to blame. Cromwell for a time was kept inactive by illness. The Scottish forces drew together again, but refused battle. It seemed impossible to force a decisive engagement; but in June 1651 Cromwell moved upon Perth, the Scots army being at Stirling. Instead of following him, Charles and the Scots marched for England, in the hope that English Royalists and Presbyterians would join them. But the Royalists did not rise; Cromwell was in hot pursuit, and an English force under Lambert was advancing to meet them. Worcester, English force under Lambert was advancing to meet them. 1651.

At Worcester they were trapped and cut to pieces (3rd September 1651) by the converging Commonwealth forces which greatly outnumbered them; and the fugitive king, after many hairbreadth escapes, reached the coast and made his way to France.

Worcester ended the Civil War. It was a personal triumph for

Cromwell, who never again had to lead his troops in the field. Scotland could no longer offer resistance and next year was incorporated in the Commonwealth of Great Britain by Act of the Rump; the task of bringing it to obedience was successfully carried out by the able soldier General Monk.

IN 1650, France, Spain, and Holland were all hostile to the regicide Commonwealth of England, though none of them were inclined to take action against it. While Cromwell was in Scotland, the Dutch stadtholder William died, and for a time the Rump government hoped for a close alliance and even actual union with the very Protestant Dutch Republic. Commercial rivalry and jealousies however outweighed religious agreement. The Dutch rejected the English overtures; and at the moment when Cromwell was on his way to London, after Worcester, the Rump retaliated on the Dutch by passing the Navigation Act (October 1651), which is commonly though wrongly spoken of as Cromwell's. In the last two years Cromwell had been away except in the interval between his Irish and Scottish campaigns. He was not as yet the head of the Commonwealth government, which was in the hands of a group of parliament men.

The point of the Act was this. The Dutch merchant ships were the greatest carriers of the world's maritime commerce, as the British are at the present day. The English meant to take their place. The Act therefore required that no goods should be imported to or exported from England except in English ships or ships of the country in which the goods were made or produced. So goods could not be brought from Germany or the Baltic or other parts of the world to England in Dutch ships; English ships would take from them a great part of their carrying trade, and English shipbuilding would also be greatly encouraged. Seven months after the Navigation Act, in May 1652, English and Dutch were at war. It must not be forgotten that Ireland and Scotland were now both united to England with one parliament, so that under the Commonwealth Navigation Act, Scottish, Irish, and Colonial shipping had the same rights as the English.

This Dutch war is extremely interesting to the student of naval history; but the two sides were so evenly matched that it decided nothing. Blake and the Dutchman Tromp are two among the greatest of admirals. Dutch and English fought with equal stubbornness, neither could really win the mastery over the other, and when peace

4. England
and Holland,
1650.

The Naviga-
tion Act,
1651.

A Dutch
war, 1652-4.

was made at the end of two years, in 1654, matters stood between the two countries almost exactly as they had been at the beginning of 1652.

IV. The Protectorate : 1653-1660.

Fall of the Rump, 1653—Constitutional Experiments, 1653-60—

The Great Protector, 1653-8—End of the Commonwealth, 1658-60.

THE government by the Rump had down to 1652 been extraordinarily successful. The army had crushed all resistance throughout the British Isles. It had raised sufficient revenue by taxation which was heavy, but not too heavy to be borne. It had reorganised a fighting navy which now—as the Dutch war proved—had no superior. It had not been generous but could hardly be called vindictive in its treatment of the vanquished Cavaliers and Anglicans—the former were deprived of some of their estates, and Presbyterian clergy generally took the place of the Anglican parish clergy, but otherwise the Anglican worship was not interfered with. It checked the liberty of the Press, but not so severely as the Star Chamber had done. Nevertheless it was unpopular even with those who had never been Royalists, because of its interference with the private morals, the manners, and amusements of the community. Cromwell and other army leaders thought it too intolerant, and too harsh to the Cavaliers. It was clearly becoming jealous and afraid of the army, bent on keeping power in its own hands, preventing its place being taken by a new parliament and new men. In 1653 the crisis came.

The Rump was all that was left of the Long Parliament, which by law could not be dissolved without its own consent. In that fact lay all the legal authority it possessed. Its practical power lay in the other fact that the army chose to acknowledge and enforce its legal authority. But the army wanted it to give place to a new parliament, whereas the members wanted to keep power permanently in their own hands, and to get rid of the army. By their own Act, Cromwell was the legal chief of that army. When in April 1653 he found that they were hurrying through a Bill which would have made them masters of any new parliament that was called, he came down to the House with a body of troopers, on his own authority as chief of the army declared the parliament dissolved, and turned them out.

So that there was no parliament, and no authority left except that

which Cromwell, having the army at his back, could enforce. The government must be carried on, and no possible government could be carried on without the army's support. A freely elected parliament would be a mere bundle of factions, incapable of forming a government. For the next five and a half years Cromwell carried on the government himself, trying always and always failing to create a parliament which could command the support of the army, and at the same time represent the will of the people at large.

The first experiment was a parliament of Nominees—people not elected in the ordinary way. The 'ministers' who had taken the places of the Anglican parish clergy sent in a list of 'suitable and godly persons' from which the members of what is commonly called the Barebones Parliament were selected. They proved to be for the most part 'godly' and full of the best intentions, but very unbusiness-like. They realised their own unfitness, and dissolved themselves.

At the end of the year (December 1653) the officers of the army proposed a written constitution for the Commonwealth, called the Instrument of Government. There was to be an elected parliament with control of taxation, which was to meet at least once in three years, and to sit for not less than five months. There was to be a Protector—Cromwell of course—who with a selected Executive Council was to rule when parliament was not sitting, but could only make 'ordinances' for the time, which would not become permanent laws unless passed by parliament. Parliament could make what laws it chose, but could not alter the Instrument of Government.

2. The
Instrument
of Govern-
ment, 1653.

The Protector ruled for nine months—during which he made peace with Holland. Parliament—elected only by persons with some property, from whom Cavaliers were excluded—met in September 1654, but would only propose changes in the Instrument instead of attending to business. So Cromwell in despair dissolved it at the end of its five months (January 1655), and continued to rule as Protector, with his Council but without parliament—as the Instrument allowed him to do. It was useless to pretend that the government held its power for any reason, except that it had so much force at its back that it could not be overthrown. As Cromwell had to rely on force he divided the country into a dozen 'military districts' each controlled by a major-general.

But in this year he entered upon a war with Spain, which we shall presently explain. Now the 'Protector' was required when at war, to

Cromwell's second Parliament, 1656. summon a parliament. This second parliament met in September 1656. As Cromwell shut out the members who were bent on making trouble, it attended to business. But it was so evident that the existing government depended

on one man, Oliver Cromwell, that provision had to be made for carrying it on if he died, and also for giving it a less unpopular form than that of an obvious military dictatorship; though the rule of the major-generals had ceased soon after parliament assembled. So it proposed

The Humble a new Constitution, in the 'Humble Petition and Advice,' Petition and addressed to the Protector (March 1657). Oliver was to Advice, 1657. be king. There was to be a second House of Parliament,

like the old House of Peers, but its members were to be chosen by him; and no members elected to the Commons were to be shut out. The Executive Council was to hold office for life. The Petition was accepted—except that Oliver refused the title of King and became instead Protector for life, with power to name his successor.

Parliament in its new form met again in January (1658). But Cromwell's strongest supporters in the Commons had been removed to the Upper House, while the hostile members who had been excluded before were now admitted. Like the first parliament, the new House set about making constitutional changes instead of attending to necessary business—so once more Oliver dissolved it, and himself carried on the government as before, till his death on 3rd September, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

When Oliver was dead there was no one strong enough to bear his burden. One government after another was set up and toppled over, till at last it became clear that the intolerable disorder and confusion could only be ended by the restoration of a 'limited' monarchy and the recall of the exiled king Charles II.

Government can be carried on only in one of two ways—by force, if the governors are too strong to be resisted, or by goodwill, the willing assent of the people governed. The Tudors preferred the second, though when necessary they fell back on the first.

Failure of experi- Charles I. tried unsuccessfully to govern by force. In 1648 the country had broken up into so many antagonistic factions that no conceivable scheme of government could have won the assent of a majority, though Cromwell and others had striven hard enough to give shape to such a plan. The last chance vanished with the

beheading of Charles, since more than half the country would never willingly obey a regicide government. Rule by force had become the only course possible. All the parliamentary experiments of the Commonwealth were merely vain attempts to get back to the English ideal of government by consent; doomed to failure; because, till monarchy should be once more generally accepted, 'consent' was out of reach.

THE despotism of the Rump had given the country a navy which was at least equally matched with the Dutch. Cromwell had already given it an army extremely efficient, though small. In restoring order at home it had been harsh but not flagrantly unjust. Cromwell, though he disliked its harshness, found himself still compelled to continue on the same line of repression of Cavaliers and Prelatists. They suffered heavy fines, forfeitures of property, and special taxation. But to all other varieties of opinion Cromwell extended his protection, including the new sect who were known as Quakers, and the Jews who had been banished from England for three and a half centuries. Though the Anglican clergy were turned out of their livings, the money was used for the support of religion and education. Between man and man, justice was administered with an even hand.

When Cromwell took the rule into his own hands by ejecting the Rump, the Dutch war was still raging. Monk, withdrawn for the time from Scotland, to which he returned later, was winning a new reputation as another soldier-admiral, under Blake who was alternately beating and being beaten by the great Dutchman Tromp. Though the fighting was so even, the Dutch commerce suffered much more than the English, and Holland was ready enough to exchange an exhausting struggle for an alliance with her only serious rival on the seas. Peace was made in 1654, since Cromwell's great desire was to unite all Protestant Powers in defence of Protestantism wherever Protestantism existed.

In Germany, thoroughly worn out by the drawn battle of the Thirty Years' War, Protestantism was no longer in danger. But by this time both France and Spain, which were still at war, were inclined to court the favour of a government which though it had beheaded a king had proved its own fighting power very thoroughly. Cromwell cared no more than Walsingham and Raleigh had cared about the Balance of Power so dear to Elizabeth and the Cecils. His price for alliance with either France or Spain was a guarantee for the protection of Protestantism. Though Spain

3. The Protectorate.

End of the Dutch war, 1654.

The Protestant champion.

had been the first to recognise the republic in England, and French Huguenot leaders were in alliance with Philip iv. against the government of Cardinal Mazarin in France, Cromwell found the Spanish king as little inclined to make concessions to Protestantism as any of his predecessors. On the other hand, the French government was fighting against French Huguenots, and the duke of Savoy was persecuting the Protestant Vaudois. But the so-called Huguenot war was a war not against a religion but against a political faction, as it had been in Richelieu's time; and Mazarin was quite ready to intervene on behalf of the Vaudois for the sake of an English alliance. In the autumn of 1655 Cromwell struck a treaty of friendship with Mazarin. He had already broken with Spain.

At the end of 1654 he had still been in doubt whether he would fight France or Spain or both or neither. Blake was sent to the Mediterranean, while another squadron under Admiral Penn and General Venables sailed for the West Indies. As agreement with France seemed probable, Blake turned upon the Moorish pirates who infested the Mediterranean, and rendered good service by sinking a pirate fleet under the guns of the pirate fortress of Porto Farina. On the other hand, though war had not been declared with Spain, Penn and Venables attacked Hispaniola, in the manner of the Elizabethans. They were driven off, but captured Jamaica instead—an island of which neither Spaniards nor English thought much at the time, though later it was found to be extremely valuable (May 1655). After that, war was formally declared and the treaty of amity—not yet an offensive and defensive alliance—was made with France.

The capture or destruction of the Spanish plate or treasure fleet by Captain Stayner next year (1656) strengthened Cromwell when the second Protectorate parliament met in September. Next summer, while the question of Oliver's crown was under consideration, came the news of Blake's last and most brilliant feat—the sinking of the Spanish treasure fleet at Teneriffe, under the guns of the forts, without loss of a ship. But the great admiral himself died as he was coming in to port at Plymouth.

Some months earlier (March 1657) the French treaty was transformed into an offensive and defensive alliance. The Ironsides were to take The Dunes, the field in the Spanish Netherlands under the great Turenne. The English share of the spoils was to be the naval port of Dunkirk, to serve as a gateway into Europe, like Calais of old. Their brilliant fighting in the battle of the Dunes (June 1658)

secured its fall, and England once more held the footing on the Continent which she had lost when Mary Tudor was queen. Never had the fame of her might by sea and land stood higher than at that hour. Next year the war was ended by the Peace of the Pyrenees, when Oliver had passed away.

For death was already drawing near when the battle of the Dunes was fought. The cord snapped when Cromwell's favourite daughter died. He fell ill, and the will to live left him. In Sep- Death of
Oliver,
September
1658. tember he died. He was in his sixtieth year. His bodily strength, though it had been great, was worn out by the tremendous strain of the responsibilities he had dared to take upon himself. Through good and evil report he had borne a burden too heavy for any other man. Striving passionately for justice, for liberty, and for law, he had done deeds which shocked the conscience of men who were not easily shocked, he had taken the law into his own hands, and the liberty he gave England was an iron despotism. He took his way, because it seemed to him the only way, the way which a stern and terrible duty pointed. To-day there are few who doubt his sincerity or question his patriotism, yet for two centuries it was the common belief that his religion was hypocrisy and his patriotism an unscrupulous lust for power. But no man has ever denied his place among the mightiest of England's rulers.

OLIVER had named as his successor his own eldest son Richard, an amiable gentleman who had none of his father's force of character, military genius, or political ability. It was quite impos- 4. Richard
Cromwell,
1658-9. sible for him to act as a military dictator. When he summoned a parliament (January 1659) it became clear at once that it meant to shake off the control of the army, and that the army officers were divided between those who wished to continue the Protectorate with the new Protector as their puppet and those who wanted a pure republic without a Protector.

The parliament was dissolved, and the officers agreed on recalling the Rump which had never been legally dissolved though it had been turned out of doors. But the Rump had learnt nothing, and again asserted its old claim to be the sovereign authority unchecked by a second chamber, a Protector, or the army. This was not what the republican officers intended. Divided counsels in the government gave the Royalists fresh hopes; some of them rose in arms, but that only united the army again—for a time; and they were crushed by

General Lambert at Winnington Bridge (August). Meanwhile Richard Cromwell had quietly subsided, dropped his office and retired into private life. The Rump tried to take the control of the army and the appointment of the officers into its own hands, whereupon it was for the second time ejected, by Lambert.

The officers appointed a committee to carry on the government till some fresh working plan could be devised. But over the border in Scotland was its governor, General Monk, in command of sundry Commonwealth regiments; to whom it seemed time that he should take a hand in restoring order, since neither Lambert nor any other of the generals in England commanded any real confidence. Monk had served Cromwell loyally; he did not mean to serve a committee which apparently did not know its own mind, and he gave notice that he meant to march into England at the head of his own troops. When it was known that he had secured the support of the former general-in-chief, Fairfax, who had lived in retirement since his resignation, it was also certain that his intervention would have the support of more than half the army in England as well as of his own troops from Scotland, and of the majority of moderates everywhere.

In February 1660 Monk arrived, unopposed, in London. He had not assumed a dictatorship, but he recommended the Committee of Government to recall not the Rump but the undissolved Long Parliament, including the members ejected, forcibly but illegally, by Pride's Purge in 1648. The Long Parliament met, arranged for the summoning of a new full and free parliament with none of the restrictions imposed under the Commonwealth. At the end of April the new 'Convention' Parliament met. Monk had no intention of taking Oliver's place. He had come to England to find and enforce a solution which would give a government supported by public opinion generally—a government by consent. He was very soon satisfied that a Restoration with securities against any attempt to revive the arbitrary rule of Charles I. would be willingly accepted by the country—by Royalists, by parliamentary constitutionalists, by republicans as at least better than a new military rule, and by the army itself since it had no trusted chief like Cromwell. He held secret communication with Charles, who from Holland sent him the Declaration of Breda; in which he promised to protect liberty of conscience, to pay off the army, to give a general 'amnesty'—that is, to punish no one for past offences—with only such exceptions as

The Con-
vention,
1660.

The recall of
Charles II.

parliament might make ; and to leave to parliament the settlement of sundry doubtful questions.

This declaration was laid before parliament when it met ; the Houses pronounced that the government ought to be in the hands of the king, Lords, and Commons ; then it was published and hailed with universal approval ; on 8th May Charles II. was proclaimed king ; and on 25th May he landed at Dover amidst joyful acclamations. The country was weary of being ruled wisely or unwisely, justly or unjustly, by men with swords at their sides and texts out of the Old Testament on their lips. England had broken away from the brief domination of Puritanism and militarism.

CHRONOLOGY

1642-1660.

GREAT BRITAIN.

EUROPE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1642. Battle of Edgehill. | |
| 1643. The Solemn League and Covenant. | 1643-1715. Louis XIV., king of France. |
| 1644. The Scots invasion. | Regency ; Ann of Austria and Mazarin. |
| 1645. New Model Army. Naseby. Montrose ; Kilsyth and Philiphaugh. | |
| 1646. The king surrenders to the Scots. | |
| 1647. The army takes custody of Charles. | |
| 1648. Second Civil War. Preston. | 1648. End of Thirty Years' War. |
| 1649. Execution of Charles I. The Commonwealth proclaimed. | 1648-53. War of the Fronde in France. |
| 1649-50. Cromwell in Ireland. | |
| 1650. Dunbar. | |
| 1651. Worcester. Navigation Act. | |
| 1652-54. First Dutch War. | |
| 1653. Fall of the Rump. Barebones Parliament. Instrument of Government. | |
| 1653-58. OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector. | |

- 1654. First Protectorate Parliament.
- 1655. Major-generals.
Jamaica captured.
- 1656-58. Second Protectorate Parliament.
- 1657. Humble Petition and Advice.
- 1658. Battle of Dunes.
Death of Oliver Cromwell.
- 1660. Charles II. restored.
- 1659. Treaty of Pyrenees, between France and Spain.
- 1660. Mazarin retires.

ORDINANCES, 1649-1660

High Court of Justice, 1649.

The **Navigation Act**, 1651, forbids the importation of goods except in English vessels or in those of the country which exports the goods. Under the Commonwealth, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies enjoyed the same rights as England, but lost them at the Restoration, when another Navigation Act forbade the importation to the Colonies of goods except in vessels sailing from English ports, or their export except to English ports.

The **Instrument of Government**, 1653, issued by the officers of the army, appoints Cromwell Lord Protector, with a Council of twenty-one members. Parliament to meet at least once in three years, and not to be dissolved until it had sat for five months. Scotland and Ireland to be represented in the Parliament. While Parliament was not sitting the Protector and his Council had unrestricted powers, except that Parliament was to be in any case summoned in case of declaration of war.

The **Humble Petition and Advice**, in 1657, makes Cromwell Protector for life, with the right to nominate his successor, since he was offered but refused the title of king.

PURITANS, PRESBYTERIANS, AND SECTARIES

THE name 'Puritan' in the proper sense includes all those who wished to 'purify' the Church of all doctrines and ceremonial practices which did not appear to them to have Scriptural authority. That did not necessarily mean that such doctrines and practices should be forbidden, but only that they should not be compulsory. The people who were

called 'Nonconformists' at the beginning of the seventeenth century were those who did not wish to separate themselves from the Church on account of these things but held that conformity to them ought not to be required of either clergy or laity. On the other hand, there were many Puritans who felt that they could not themselves listen to such doctrines or take part in such practices with a clear conscience, and many who demanded that they should be forbidden altogether. In their eyes, these things were what they called 'rags of Rome,' and Rome was the great enemy of real Christian truth. When these 'advanced' Puritans attacked the Church itself, the name of Puritan became limited to them. When we speak of Puritans generally, these are the people we mean—just as most people when they speak of Catholics mean only Roman Catholics.

Now most Puritans had these things in common; they had the Old Testament in their minds much more than the New, and they denied that it was necessary for the clergy to be ordained by bishops. But if they agreed in this, they differed violently about other matters, and particularly about the government of the Church. Some of them, the Presbyterians, wished that form of Church government to take the place of Prelacy or Episcopacy, but wanted as much as any Anglican to impose uniformity of doctrines and rites on everyone. Others protested against compulsory uniformity altogether; and these were generally called the 'sectaries,' among whom the most prominent group were called Independents or Congregationalists. In this book the name Independent has generally been used as covering all the sectaries, just as Protestant has been used to cover Anglicans and Calvinists as well as Lutherans.

But there were actually many small groups of sectaries besides the big group of Independents, who had discovered for themselves some special interpretations of Scripture in which they believed intensely—Antinomians who believed that they themselves were 'saved' and were set free from all laws (antinomian means 'against law'); Fifth Monarchy men, who held that there had been four great empires ordained from the beginning of the world, of which Rome had been the fourth, but now was the beginning of the fifth, the rule of Christ and the 'Saints' (by which they meant themselves); Baptists, who held that no one should be baptized till his childhood was past; Quakers, who counted all fighting to be wrong; and many more. None of these sects would have been tolerated if the Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament could have taken its own way after the war. But most of the New Model army, officers and men, were sectaries; and most of the Presbyterian soldiers saw that these men must not—even if they could—be denied the freedom for which they had fought. So the Long Parliament was 'purged' by Colonel Pride, and the Commonwealth gave full liberty to all professing Christians except Papists and—for political, not religious, reasons—

Prelatists. The Prelatist Cavalier clergy were removed from their livings, which were distributed impartially among the 'ministers' of any sect including the Presbyterians who satisfied a body of 'Triers,' appointed for that purpose, that they were 'godly' persons. On the other hand, across the Atlantic in New England where the Independents were an actual majority, they were as intolerant of other sectaries as any Presbyterian. They only insisted on toleration when general toleration was the only way by which they could get freedom for themselves.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESTORATION : 1660-1685.

I. Europe : 1660-1713.

Louis XIV.—Louis's Rivals.

WE have reached a turning-point in European history. For a hundred and fifty years to come, France was the leading nation in Europe ; the European policy of the British as well as of every other nation turned upon the policy of France ; for the first x. An epoch. fifty years and more—the period covered by the remainder of this volume—it turned upon the policy of one person, the king of France, Louis XIV.

In 1660, Louis, who had succeeded to the throne as a child of four seventeen years earlier, took over the business of government from the great minister Mazarin, who died next year. Mazarin Louis XIV. had completed Richelieu's work of breaking the power of the nobles ; the Commons had never been able (as in England) to obtain any power at all ; and Louis found himself an 'absolute' monarch whose will was law throughout his dominions. The nobles retained their privileges, their freedom from taxation, their power over their serfs, their right—at least in practice—to hold all the higher commands in the Army and nearly all the higher offices of State ; but in the Army and in the State they were the servants of the king and held office only at his pleasure. No European monarch before Louis had ever enjoyed such power. When he said, *L'État, c'est moi*, 'the State is myself,' he was declaring a simple fact. The will of France was what the king of France willed.

It was the will of Louis to extend his dominions to their 'natural' boundaries the Rhine and the Alps at the expense partly of German princes but chiefly of Spain in the Netherlands. Beyond His the Rhine he wished to make Holland a dependency if ambitions. not an actual province of France, and beyond the Alps to obtain control

of North Italy at the expense of the Hapsburgs. Then the German princes would find that they could only disobey his will at the risk of extermination, and the Hapsburgs, whether in Spain or Austria, would have to submit to his dictation. There was a chance that he might even come into possession of Spain and the Spanish dominion in South Italy, which would turn the greater part of the Mediterranean into a French lake. He would be complete master of Europe.

But while he was carrying out these designs, England must be kept friendly or at least neutral, and the antagonism between her and the other great maritime Power, Holland, must be kept alive. When Holland and the Dutch fleets should pass under his own control, he would be able to deal drastically with England if she stood in his way—till then, he must prevent her by diplomacy from standing in his way. He must keep the restored king of England on his side, while the English people could be hoodwinked by means of their jealousy of Dutch maritime rivalry.

How, up to a certain point, he managed England for nearly thirty years, and how after that point England in great part wrecked his plans, we shall presently see. But we must also see how at the outset the state of Europe made his ambitions seem practicable.

Resistance obviously would come in the first place from Spain since what he wanted first was Spanish territory. The Austrian Hapsburgs would naturally be disposed to support the Spanish Hapsburgs against the French Bourbon aggression. Would the combination be too strong? There was every likelihood that it would not.

The weakness of Spain was manifest. Not much was to be feared either from her armies or her navies, or from the character and abilities of her rulers. The heir to the throne was a sickly child of feeble intellect. Portugal had already severed itself from her, and she had no friends except Austria and the Papacy. She could not reach the Netherlands by land except by sending troops across neutral or hostile territory, nor by sea without running the gauntlet of the French fleet. Austria was far away, had no fleet, and was as likely to find opponents as active helpers among the German principalities which would separate her from the field of active operations. In North Italy, France might strike at her, but she could not strike at France. Moreover to the east of her Turkey had become aggressive and must be guarded against at all costs. For active hostilities in Western Europe, Austria would be slow to move, and very much hampered if she did move.

Holland, with her traditional enmity to Spain, would be slow to take arm. Sweden and North Germany had ties to France who had led them in resisting the domination of the Hapsburgs. Louis's finally, the succession to the Spanish dominions was advantages. likely to be in dispute, and the marriage of Louis himself to Philip iv.'s daughter in 1660 would ensure in Spain the existence of a party favouring French interests if such a dispute should arise. France, with the most skilled diplomatists, the most powerful army, and the ablest generals in Europe at the disposal of a single resolute and ambitious will, might become such a Power as had never been known since the days of Imperial Rome.

It was not a part of Louis's scheme, but a piece of good fortune for himself, that he found a finance minister, Colbert, who greatly increased his power, though partly in a way which made a later Colbert. struggle between France and Britain inevitable. Colbert fostered the industries of France so that her wealth and commerce advanced rapidly. But beyond that he saw that Holland had gained and England was gaining from their colonies and trade-settlements in America and the Indian Ocean. They shared between them something that ought to be within reach of France too. Colbert made great efforts to develop the French colony in Canada; he created an East India Company to rival those of the English and Dutch; he built up a mercantile fleet; and for the safeguarding of commerce he gave France a fighting navy which for a short time was able to hold its own against either Dutch or English single-handed; though Louis himself was too much absorbed in his continental ambitions to keep up the effort, and the French bid for ocean ascendancy was of brief duration.

THE check to the designs of Louis was brought about after the death of Charles II. in England in 1685 by the union of Holland and England in a resistance to his policy. That union was actually 2. The brought about by the revolution in England which set Netherlands the Dutch stadtholder, William III. of Orange, on the question. English throne, much more than by any wisdom in the English people. Let the fate of the British Empire was really at stake. Elizabeth had seen that France in possession of the Netherlands would be much more dangerous to England than Spain could be. If France controlled the coastline and the ports from Calais to the Texel as well as from Calais to Brest, her sea-power would be at least as great as that of England, and might easily become greater. If England had left France free to

master Holland, India and the Dominion of Canada would in all probability to-day have been parts not of the British but of a French empire. England joined Holland consciously to prevent a Roman Catholic dynasty from being established on her own throne. Holland wanted England's help to escape subjugation by another European Power. Neither was ever more than half aware, and France was never so much as half aware, of the real stake in the struggle.

When the struggle was ended at last in 1713, two years before the death of Louis XIV., a Bourbon instead of a Hapsburg was on the throne of Spain; there was a family bond between the crowns not of Spain and Austria but of Spain and France. But they were separate crowns. Naples and the Spanish Netherlands had passed from Spain to Austria, and Holland was in no danger. British sea-power had left all the rest far behind. Britain and France still had before them the great duel for empire, in which mastery of the ocean was to be the decisive factor; but that mastery had been saved to Britain when she turned the scales against Louis in his attempt to master Holland and the Spanish Netherlands.

Certain other international features of the period remain to be noted. The Ottoman tide was finally rolled back to the Danube. Sweden under Charles XII. made her last brilliant but unsuccessful effort to hold her place as a first-class Power. The Electorate of Brandenburg was extended and consolidated into the kingdom of Prussia. And finally a new Power was being built up in the north and east of Europe, a Power hitherto unheard of, by Peter the Great, the half-barbarian genius who created the Russian empire.

II. Clarendon : 1660-1667.

The Restoration Settlement, 1660—The Repression of Nonconformity, 1661-7—
The Second Dutch War, 1665-7.

THE Restoration in England—hailed with no less acclamation in Scotland—was neither the work of a party nor the triumph of a party. It was the work of a soldier who cared nothing for political theories but did care that the country should have peace and order under a strong and stable government. Such a government he was willing to serve, whether it was a hereditary monarchy, a republic, or a military dictatorship. Having taken the measure of public opinion in the country, he concluded that such a

Government could only be obtained—as he had no mind to be a military dictator himself—by restoring the hereditary monarchy under guarantees. Public opinion in all parties supported him. Charles, who had found exile extremely uncomfortable, gave the required promises; the country rang with joy-bells; and Charles became king *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

But the principle which had triumphed was that not of Divine Right but of a hereditary monarchy ruling by consent; of which the first proof was that all the Acts of the Long Parliament to which Charles I. had given the royal assent remained the law of the land. Its ordinances or enactments passed after the bringing in of the Root and Branch Bill had not received the royal assent, therefore they were not law. The son recovered no powers which the father had consented, however unwillingly, to surrender.

The Convention—for in strictly legal language it was not a parliament since it had not been summoned by the king's writ—proceeded with the settlement of urgent questions; with one important exception, that of religion.

First came the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion—indemnity for the king's enemies and oblivion for his friends, according to the disgusted Cavaliers. The Oblivion or Amnesty covered—with a few exceptions difficult to justify—every one except the actual regicides, the men who had sat as judges to condemn the king to death. The Indemnity dealt with the lands the Cavaliers had lost. What the Commonwealth government had seized as being forfeited was restored to the original owners or their heirs. What the Cavaliers had found themselves obliged to sell in order to pay fines or taxes remained in possession of the purchasers.

Next the army was paid off and disbanded, except some of Monk's regiments which were kept with the colours on the plea that otherwise there might be dangerous disturbances. Some pretext was always found for continuing to retain them, and in fact they never were disbanded.

These were measures dealing with problems created by the Civil War. But the war had sprung out of the still unsettled question of the revenue. This was fixed now on the lines which had been proposed—and dropped—under James I. Apart from his private states, the king was to have a fixed income with no power to add to it. The regular income took the place of all the feudal dues—which disappeared—all the ancient customs, the port duties on imports or

The Convention Settlement, 1660.

The Revenue.

exports that had belonged to the Crown by statute from the days of Edward I., the tonnage and poundage which parliament had voted at the beginning of each reign for a couple of centuries. It lay entirely with parliament to provide the income and levy the necessary taxes for the purpose, but the income provided would be secure, unvarying, regular, and could be altered only by statute, not by any arbitrary act of the king on one side or of the parliament on the other. If more was required to carry on the government, it must be obtained by parliamentary grant. It seemed that there would be no more possibility of evading the Commons' power of the purse. As the fixed income was much too little for carrying on even the most economical government imaginable, the king would never be able to dispense with parliament for more than a very short time.

To all these measures the king gave cheerful assent. It was his business to conciliate the elements of the population which might easily become suspicious of, and hostile to, the restored monarchy. No man had a clearer head than the returned exile, who was resolved that whatever else might happen he would not 'go on his travels' again.

THE man who managed matters on behalf of the king was his chancellor, Edward Hyde, who now took his seat in the House of Lords as earl of 2. Clarendon. He had sat in the Long Parliament as a moderate Constitutionalist, but as a strong Church of England man he had been one of that large minority who had resisted the Root and Branch Bill and the Grand Remonstrance. He had taken service with Charles I., advised him through the war, and accompanied Charles II. in his exile; no man had a shrewder understanding of English parties or more thoroughly grasped the need of conciliation. But he did not want the religious settlement to be in the hands of the mainly Presbyterian Convention, and he succeeded in postponing it till the meeting of a new and perfectly regular parliament. The Presbyterians assented, being assured that the settlement would be a compromise between Presbyterians and Prelatists—both of whom meant to ignore the Independents now that the army was disbanded.

The Presbyterians however had miscalculated. The House of Commons which assembled in April 1661 was overwhelmingly Anglican, The Cavalier hostile alike to Roman Catholicism and to Puritanism Parliament. in any shape or form, strongly Cavalier in its sympathies, but with no intention whatever of abating any of its own claims to control the government. The religious settlement on which it insisted

is purely Anglican, and far less tolerant than Charles himself desired ; that he viewed Puritanism with favour but because he wanted toleration at least for Catholics, and knew that it could not safely be conceded to them while it was refused to Puritans. The persecution of Puritans which followed and continued all through the remaining four-and-twenty years of his reign was parliament's doing, not the king's, and it was probably approved by the majority of the people, who under Puritan rule had found harmless as well as harmful amusements rigidly checked, and had seen a hypocritical pretence of moral austerity frequently used as a means to worldly advancement. The old non-Puritan sympathy for harshly oppressed Puritans had been killed by the turn of Puritanism when it had turned the tables on its oppressors. The ' Cavalier Parliament ' passed a series of oppressive statutes which are commonly known as the Clarendon Code. First the ' Corporation Act ' required every one holding office in a borough to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church.

England and to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant. Thus conscientious Nonconformists were shut out of any share in municipal government (December 1661). In 1662 a new ' Act of Uniformity ' required that only the services in the Prayer-book should be used in any church or chapel and that all the ministers must be ordained by bishops. Half the parish clergy holding livings at the time never had been so ordained, and those of them who refused to be ordained before St. Bartholomew's Day or to declare that they approved of everything in the Prayer-book—which no Nonconformist could do—were turned out of their livings. Consequently no fewer than one thousand two hundred suffered ejection for conscience' sake. The Act also forbade any one to be a teacher of any kind unless he accepted the Prayer-book and everything in it. In 1664 the ' Conventicle Act ' forbade the holding anywhere of any religious services except those of the English Church. In 1665, after the great visitation of the Plague, when the expelled Nonconformists showed more courage than the parish clergy attending the sick, the ' Five Mile Act ' forbade them to come within five miles of any borough, or of any parish where they had formerly served.

MEANWHILE other events of importance had been taking place. For the weakening of Spain, from which Portugal had now severed herself, Charles was encouraged by his cousin Louis XIV. to marry the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza,

3. Foreign
affairs, 1661.

As her dowry she brought to Charles two Portuguese possessions of great value, the island of Bombay on the west coast of India, and the fortress of Tangier in Africa just outside the Strait of Gibraltar. Since it would be both costly and difficult to hold both Dunkirk and Tangier, Dunkirk was sold to France; a very unpopular step at the time, but one fully approved and recommended by Monk who had been made earl of Albemarle. Bombay was wisely handed over to the East India Company. Tangier was a naval station which would give the English fleet entry to the Mediterranean.

Soon afterwards England drifted into a very useless renewal of the war with Holland—to the satisfaction of the French king who was pleased to see the two countries at enmity and wasting ships, lives, and treasure in fighting each other. The Restoration did away with the Commonwealth Navigation Act, along with all the other Acts which had been passed by parliament without assent of the Crown. Its place however was taken by a new Navigation Act equally hard on the Dutch. (We may notice here that it added restrictions which hampered colonial trade for the benefit of English merchants, while Scotland and Ireland no longer shared the privileges of English shipping.) This was like probing old wounds. It set up fresh irritation, and war was declared in 1665.

It was very much like the last war. England had no Blake, but Monk was no mean antagonist for the Dutchman De Ruyter who was the equal of Tromp; Prince Rupert—now an English admiral—was a formidable fighter on sea as well as on land; and there was a long series of desperately fought engagements in which the victory of one side never meant that the other was crushed. On the whole it was again more exhausting to the Dutch and more damaging to their commerce than to the English, and peace was concluded by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.

While the negotiations for the peace were going on, there was an ugly incident. Though ample sums had been voted, the English treasury had run out of money, and to escape its difficulties a great part of the fleet which ought to have been at sea was laid up in dock. The Dutch saw and seized their opportunity. They sailed up the Medway and bombarded Chatham, and the boom of their guns was heard in London itself, to the great wrath and shame of the whole country. But the Dutch knew well enough that this was merely an insult to which the English had laid themselves open, not a serious naval disaster, and the

The second Dutch war, 1665-7.

The Dutch in the Medway, 1667.

incident did not prevent the terms of the Peace Treaty being on the whole more favourable to England than to Holland. The Navigation Act was not changed, and Holland ceded to England her American colony of New Amsterdam on the Hudson, which lay like a wedge between the New England colonies and the southern plantations. It was rechristened New York, after the king's brother James duke of York—who was Lord High Admiral and in actual command of the fleet, as Howard of Effingham had been when the Armada came.

At the beginning of the war London was smitten with the last visitation of the Plague, the terrible disease which three hundred years before had devastated the country—when it was known as the Black Death. It had reappeared at intervals, but never with the same severity. In the next year half the great city was burnt down in the famous Fire of London which started by accident and raged for three days before its ravages could be stopped. The Plague and the Fire caused a terrible loss of life and property; and the population, very unreasonably, chose to lay the blame on the government, and especially on Clarendon who was at its head. He was unpopular with every one; with Presbyterians and Puritans because of the Clarendon Code, with the Cavaliers because of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, with the Court because he tried to check its extravagance and licentious frivolity—the unfortunate result of the reaction against Puritan austerity. When the Dutch sailed up the Medway it was again upon Clarendon—most unjustly—that the popular anger turned. His enemies united to attack him. He had become inconvenient to Charles, who was preparing to play a game of his own in which he knew Clarendon would not support him; and Charles had no qualms about deserting the man to whom he owed his crown more than to any one except perhaps Monk. To escape impeachment, by the king's own desire Clarendon went into exile. From this time (1667) it was Charles himself, not any minister—though no one suspected it—who managed the affairs of the nation.

The emptiness of the treasury at a moment when large supplies had been voted and it ought to have been full brought in a new practice which increased parliament's control of the purse. This is called the 'Appropriation of Supply.' Parliament had voted money for the war, but the spending of it was in the hands of the king and his ministers, and it was quite clear that it was not being spent on the war. So the Finance Act which made a

The Treaty
of Breda.

Plague and
Fire, 1665-6.

Fall of
Clarendon,
1667.

Appropriation of
Supply, 1666.

further grant in 1666 required that the money provided should be spent on certain particular objects and that the Treasury should show that it was spent on those objects, not on something else. The Appropriation of Supply meant that parliament intended to control not only the amount of the supplies but also the way in which they were spent.

III. The Merry Monarch : 1667-1685.

The Secret Bargain, 1670—The Third Dutch War, 1672-4—Danby—
The Popish Plot—Shaftesbury—The King reigns, 1681-5.

Now we are coming to the strange story of the cleverest king who ever sat on the English throne ; a king so clever that he made the whole world, in his own day, believe that he was just a very
1. The King. witty, very good-natured, and very frivolous person, who cared nothing about politics and left everything to his ministers—while he was quietly pulling the strings which set them all dancing. And there was only one man who found him out, played every crafty trick he knew to beat him, and ended by being very thoroughly beaten himself. From the beginning to the end of his twenty-five years' reign Charles II. hoodwinked every one—the French king, his own ministers, parliament, and the people of England ; every one except Shaftesbury, whom he outwitted.

For the first seven years Charles left Clarendon to manage for him, and to bear the blame for all the unpopular things that had to be done. The main thing was to convince every one that he, Charles, was not going to try, like his father, to impose his own will on parliament and the country. At the end of the seven years he was comfortably secure of his crown, and knew that there would never be any danger of rebellion unless he blundered badly—and it was not his way to make blunders. But Clarendon was so unpopular that if he kept him as his minister some of the unpopularity might fall on the king. So Clarendon went into banishment.

For Charles did not want mere security. He wanted to go his own way. Parliament blocked the path, because it held the purse-strings ; Charles and so he must be independent of parliament. That he could Louis. not be, as long as he had to bargain with parliament for supplies, which he could not get by any kind of taxation. Therefore he must get them from abroad, by bargaining. It was no use to turn to Spain on the one hand or Holland on the other ; he must fill his own

pockets out of the ample treasury of cousin Louis, the magnificent monarch of France. It was about the time of Clarendon's fall that Charles definitely fixed upon France as his gold-mine.

Louis was quite ready to take Charles into his pay—on his own terms; neutrality or help in his own aggressive ambitions especially against Holland, and the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England. The terms suited Charles. Louis of course must understand that the son of Henrietta Maria was as anxious as the son of Louis XIII. to see Roman Catholics restored at least to their full liberties in England; but the thing would need management, and must be done at his own time; he must have enough money to keep up and enlarge his little standing army, in case of accidents. As for Holland, England had no goodwill to her, and Charles had no goodwill to the Republican Government, which was treating his young nephew William harshly. If France and England together upset the Dutch republic and made young William stadtholder like his fathers before him, William would no doubt be properly grateful to both.

The bargain could not be struck at once. Parliament scented danger—though it did not suspect Charles—in claims which Louis was making on behalf of his wife to provinces in the Spanish Netherlands; it had never really trusted French professions of religious toleration; and Charles, while he explained the situation to Louis privately, was obliged to contract the Triple Alliance with the Protestant states, Holland and Sweden, to 'mediate' between France and Spain. Louis came to terms with Spain; the explosion of suspicion against France passed off; and in 1670 Charles and Louis signed the secret treaty of Dover.

That treaty, which included the promise of restoring Romanism, with the help of French troops if necessary, was not made known even to Charles's ministers. All the members of the Privy Council reckoned as ministers—too many to be in close touch with the king; but after the fall of Clarendon there were four of the ministers in England and one in Scotland—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale—who were supposed to be in his confidence. This group was known as the Cabal. The first two were privately Roman Catholics, like Charles's brother James; the next two, though anything but Puritans, had chosen to ally themselves with the Nonconformists, and were consequently zealous foes of 'popery'; to them Charles could not reveal his plans, though Clifford and Arlington may have been in

Anti-French sentiment.

The Secret Treaty, 1670.

The Cabal.

the secret. Lauderdale was concerned only with Scotland, which at the Restoration had again become a separate kingdom from England.

So to Buckingham (the clever and dissolute son of Charles I.'s favourite) and to Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) a sham treaty was confided which was also kept secret, but which Buckingham was allowed to negotiate, a treaty directed against Holland in which nothing was said about restoring Romanism. It had their approval because they shared the popular hostility to England's great maritime and commercial rival. The unsuspecting parliament granted large supplies, in case armed opposition to France—not to Holland—might become necessary; after which it was prorogued, not to meet again for nearly three years. In 1672 Charles made a bid for Nonconformist support by issuing a royal 'Declaration of Indulgence,' suspending for the time all the penal laws against Protestant dissenters and Catholics. Two days later, without warning, England and France declared war on Holland.

THE land operations were left to the French; their fleet supported that of the English. Holland as usual rose to the crisis, though she was very far from being in readiness. Her fleet met and defeated the duke of York at Sole (Southwold) Bay, after a hard fight in which the French squadron took no part though it was close at hand. The French armies advanced on to Dutch soil. But popular indignation overwhelmed the Dutch government which had failed in preparedness. It fell in a sudden and fierce revolution, in which its chiefs, the De Witts, were foully murdered; and Charles's nephew William of Orange, now twenty-one, was called to the hereditary leadership of the State—not as the grateful protégé of France and England, but as the most stubborn foe with whom Louis ever had to deal. William used the weapon which is Holland's last resort on invasion. He opened the Dykes, the barrier between the Dutch flats and the North Sea, and the incoming flood swept the French over the border.

To Charles, Holland with his nephew at its head was very different from the Holland of the De Witts. Though the naval war went on in the old fashion, and both fleets fought with well-matched courage and obstinacy while neither could win a decisive victory, the English people were half-hearted. They wished to wipe out the disgrace of the Medway episode, but apart from that they saw

2. Third
Dutch war,
1672-4.

Peace.

no sufficient reason for fighting the Dutch, and none at all for fighting in alliance with the French. In 1674 peace was made. Charles of course declared to Louis that it was only because parliament was too strong for him. In fact he found himself skating on ice thinner than he had supposed, and barely escaped disaster.

Charles and the Cabal had felt it necessary to commit the country to the war without assembling the prorogued parliament, which would want to know too much. The government had money Stop of the enough to carry on, actually in its hands, but it was Exchequer, borrowed money, the repayment of which was due. It 1672.

had borrowed it, as the custom was, from the goldsmiths, who were the bankers of the day—there were no ‘banks’ in the modern sense. The goldsmiths (also according to custom) had provided it out of money left in their safe-keeping, which they would presently have to return to the actual owners, because they had the government’s promise to pay it back in time. Now Charles found that if he did pay it back he would be penniless and would have to summon parliament in a hurry to provide him with more. So the pledge to pay it back was broken; the goldsmiths and the people whose money they had lent to the government found themselves penniless, and there was widespread ruin. This very dishonest performance is known as ‘the Stop of the Exchequer.’

The summoning of the parliament could still only be put off for a few months. In February 1673 it met, in high indignation. There was a war going on, the meaning of which it did not under-stand; there was the Stop of the Exchequer; and there The Declaration of was the Declaration of Indulgence. The king by his own Indulgence. authority had suspended wholesale the repressive laws, dear to the hearts of the Cavalier Parliament, against Papists and Dissenters. It was his prerogative to grant pardons and to excuse particular persons on particular occasions from exact obedience to the law, but not to suspend laws wholesale. If he could do that at his pleasure, he would soon be repealing laws and making laws by his own authority. Charles bowed to the storm; it was the only chance of getting the supplies he wanted and proroguing parliament again till it was in a better temper. He withdrew the Declaration. But parliament before it voted the money passed the Test Act, which convinced Charles once for all Test Act, that the country would not tolerate popery at any price. 1673.

For the Test Act, which remained in force for more than one hundred and fifty years, required that any one holding any public office, civil or military, must prove himself a member of the Church of England

by formally denying the Romanist doctrine of Transubstantiation, and by receiving the Sacrament according to the Anglican rites.

CLIFFORD and James—who, since Charles had no legitimate children, was heir-presumptive to the throne—both resigned; and at this time
 3. Shaftes- Shaftesbury became convinced that Charles had been
 bury and tricking him and using him for his own ends. Thence-
 Danby. forth Shaftesbury was the king's most dangerous foe. The Cabal had gone hopelessly to pieces. The minister whom Charles chose to carry out his programme was the leader of the Cavaliers, Thomas Osborne, who was created earl of Danby, and ended as duke of Leeds.

The Dutch war was still going on, with Prince Rupert in command of the fleet in place of the duke of York. But hostility to Holland was
 Manœuv- a sentiment on which Charles could no longer rely; the
 ring. hope of uniting Romanists, High Anglicans with Romanist leanings, and Dissenters by a policy of toleration had been wiped out; the ascendancy of the Cavaliers, who had no affection for France, was so marked that Charles had taken their leader as his chief minister. And still his plans made it as necessary as ever that he should retain the goodwill and pocket the money of King Louis. A change of method therefore was necessary. During the next stage Charles devotes his ingenuity to persuading Louis—first that he is personally as anxious as ever to carry out his bargain, secondly that the country is imposing on him an anti-French policy, thirdly that he must yield to it unless he has money enough from Louis to maintain a standing army and carry on without parliament, and fourthly that Louis will find it very much to his advantage to provide the necessary cash.

Thus the peace with Holland in 1674 was a strong hint that unless Louis provided Charles with the supplies which would give him a free hand English antagonism was likely to prove very embarrassing to France. Then for three years Charles managed Louis in France and Danby in England, so that he was able to extract a useful but insufficient pension from Louis by another secret treaty which was reluctantly signed by Danby; and when the parliamentary opposition led by Shaftesbury threatened danger he was able to prorogue it again. Meanwhile however the arms of Louis on the Continent were progressing successfully without aid from England and Colbert's fleet was winning unexpected successes.

The parliament met again, when longer postponement had become

impossible, in the spring of 1677. Fortunately for Charles and Danby, the rash tactics of the opposition chiefs led them into a trap; they roused the wrath of both Lords and Commons so thoroughly that Shaftesbury and several others were sent to the Tower. Before the end of the year Danby was able to take a step popular in England but very annoying to Louis, of marrying the princess Mary to the stadtholder William, her first-cousin. Mary was the elder daughter of the duke of York, by his first wife (Clarendon's daughter), Anne Hyde. James was the heir-presumptive of Charles who was very unlikely ever to have a legitimate child of his own. Mary was heiress-presumptive of James, and would succeed him unless he should have a son by his second wife Mary of Modena. After Mary and her sister Anne, William himself stood next in the line of succession, as grandson of Charles I. Thus it seemed extremely probable that the stadtholder of Holland would one day be king of England, a prospect not at all to the liking of Louis.

The Dutch marriage, 1677.

Now the cross-currents and the game of intrigue became extremely lively. Charles had to keep his hold on Louis, and to do so he ordered the reluctant Danby to authorise the English ambassador in France to promise Louis the help of England—in return for a substantial cash-payment—if Holland and Spain (with which Louis was also at war) rejected the peace terms offered them. Louis got his terms, at the treaty of Nimeguen or Nimwegen (August 1678); but in his distrust of Charles and Danby, aroused by the Dutch marriage, he made the correspondence known to the leaders of the opposition in England with whom he was already intriguing. And at the same time Shaftesbury was preparing to bid for popularity and to frighten the king by a violent anti-popery agitation in England based on the fact that James, the king's brother, had now openly joined the Church of Rome, though his daughters remained uncompromising Protestants.

4. Cross-currents, 1678.

When the prorogued parliament met again in October, the No-popery business was well started. Encouraged if not actually incited by Shaftesbury, a certain Titus Oates had revealed to a horrified and panic-stricken world his portentous discovery of an appalling Popish Plot. Another Fire of London, another Irish insurrection, a general massacre of Protestants, the murder of King Charles and the elevation of his papist brother to the throne, were parts of the programme; papists and High Anglicans were denounced as conspirators. The murder of an estimable and popular magistrate

The Popish Plot.

by unknown assassins was laid to the account of the Jesuits, one of whom was Confessor to the wife of James. The whole thing was pure fiction, with no more foundation than some foolish phrases in some foolish private letters. But the population fell into a frenzy of terror, losing all reason and swallowing every fable flung to it. Titus Oates, son of a Puritan chaplain, Anglican parson, ex-Jesuit, became the popular hero, the saviour of Protestantism.

The astute Charles was not deceived for a moment, but he was almost alone, and declined to seek unpopularity by attempting to stem the raging tide. Parliament passed an Act excluding all Roman Catholics from the House of Peers; like the Test Act, it remained in force for a century and a half. The prisons were filled with innocent victims; any evidence satisfied the Judges—from the House of Lords down—of the guilt of any one who was unlucky enough to have an enemy who chose to lay information against him, however false.

Such were the circumstances in which Shaftesbury first brought forward his proposal that no papist, James or any one else, should be allowed to ascend the throne of England. Charles had allowed the victimising of innumerable persons whom he very well knew to be innocent, but the limit of his complaisance was reached. He was willing to accept an Act limiting the powers of a Catholic successor, but not exclusion, and moderate men among the champions of the Church, Halifax and Hyde (Clarendon's younger son), supported him. But Exclusion became the battle-cry of Shaftesbury and his party.

Danby as well as James was an object of Shaftesbury's malice. His letter to the ambassador in France was produced in parliament and he was impeached. The letter had on it, in the king's own hand, the words 'This letter is writ by my order.—C. R.'; but the Commons declined to regard the king's order as excusing an Act of the minister. The impeachment was only stopped by the prorogation and then by the dissolution of the Cavalier parliament, which had been sitting for eighteen years (1679). The Triennial Act of 1641, which was still a statute of the realm, did not limit the life of a parliament; it only required that parliament should meet at least once in three years. The impeachment of Danby, though it was stopped, was an event of great importance—not merely because it made it impossible for the king to keep Danby as his minister, but because it laid down once

The Cavalier
Parliament
dissolved,
1679.

Ministerial
respon-
sibility.

for all the principle that no one can plead the royal orders in defence of his own unlawful doings. That principle was never afterwards challenged. But it had been asserted in a different way and with a different purpose one hundred and fifty years earlier by Henry VIII., when he attacked first Wolsey and then the clergy at large for breach of the Statute of Praemunire of which they had been guilty at his own bidding.

THE Cavalier parliament had been dissolved without voting supplies. A new one was at once summoned, which met in March 1679. For the next two years Charles and Shaftesbury were fighting a 5. King and duel in which Shaftesbury at the precise moment when Earl. he thought the king was at his mercy suddenly found himself disarmed, with the king's rapier-point at his throat.

The Popish Plot tide was still surging when the second parliament met. The new House of Commons was strong for Shaftesbury, and there were no Catholics in the House of Lords. Shaftesbury launched an Exclusion Bill which passed the Commons. Charles, by advice of Halifax, prorogued parliament, then dissolved it and summoned a third. Shaftesbury had made it clear that his candidate for the succession would be not Mary with her husband William, but James duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, young, handsome, and a popular favourite. Halifax saw the mistake, and sought to ally Orange to his own party. Charles looked on—the ally for whom he was still angling was not William but Louis.

One thing the parliament had done before the prorogation, which was of immense importance, though it did not affect the political situation; it passed the great Habeas Corpus Act, amend- Habeas ing an old statute. Habeas Corpus ('Have the body') Corpus, 1679. was the law which was meant to ensure that any person who was arrested should either be brought to trial without delay or discharged as innocent. But lawyers had found so many ways of evading the law that prisoners were sometimes kept in custody for years before being brought up for trial. The Act of 1679 required that any person who was arrested should be tried in the same sessions or the sessions next following; failing which he was to be set at liberty. Since that time, no one has been detained in prison without trial for a longer period, except at times and in places where the Habeas Corpus Act has been suspended in order that flagrant disorder may be more rigorously curbed.

Before the third parliament met, Charles had a sudden illness which nearly killed him. As often happens, his illness and recovery revived his popularity. Trusting to a growing reaction in his favour he prorogued the new parliament at once for three months, and again when the three months were over (January 1680). Shaftesbury and his party clamoured for the Houses to meet. Petitions poured in demanding that they should meet. Counter-petitions expressed abhorrence of the doctrine that any one but the king had a right to decide when parliament should or should not sit. For a time the two parties were known as Petitioners and Abhorrrers; names which soon gave place to the formal titles of the Country and Whig and Court parties, and to the still surviving nicknames, WHIG Tory. and TORY—insultingly bestowed on each by its opponents and then mockingly adopted by the party itself.

The meeting of parliament could not be long deferred; Louis was keeping his purse closed; half-hearted supporters of Charles were returning to the Exclusionist or Whig fold—joining the ranks of the Opposition; for it is from this time that we may date the establishment of the practice which divides each House into the group which habitually supports the Government of the day, and the group which is habitually in opposition to it. Hitherto there had been no such thing as a formal Opposition.

As Louis would not trust to promises, Charles hinted a threat. He made a treaty with Spain. In October he faced parliament. A new Exclusion Bill only just failed to pass in the Lords; the tide was running strongly against him; he seemed to be giving way. The Commons would make no compromise now; all their demands must be conceded. To the general surprise Charles would not give way. Money he must have if Tangier was to be maintained, and the promises to Spain carried out; but he would not consent to deprive his brother of his just rights, as the price. The Commons threatened; Charles dissolved parliament (January 1681), but summoned a new one—the fourth of his reign—to meet not in London but at Oxford in March.

It met. The king once more proposed a compromise. The Commons, convinced that he could not hold out, rejected it. At the next day's sitting, Charles announced not his own submission, but the dissolution of parliament. He had made his bargain with Louis at last and could do without supplies from parliament. The Whigs suddenly woke from their comfortable dream. They saw that, however the thing had happened, Charles must have

The Oxford
Parliament,
1681.

known for months that he was master of the situation. Rebellion on the ground that he had refused to disinherit his brother was out of the question. The crisis was over and Charles had won. In spite of the Triennial Act, parliament was not again summoned during the four remaining years of his reign.

SHAFTESBURY was routed because he had made too sure of a complete and crushing victory. By demanding too much he had lost all. It was the king who had offered compromises to ensure the 6. Tory protection of Protestantism; it was Shaftesbury who had reaction. forced a fight to the bitter end. His most fatal blunder—a strange one for so clever a man—was his insistence upon the recognition of Monmouth as Charles's heir, to the exclusion of Mary and William, whose legal right to the succession if James were set aside no one really doubted. By so doing, he drove to the king's side not only 'limitationists' who wanted not the exclusion of James but securities for Protestantism, but also exclusionists who objected to displacing the legitimate heirs in favour of one who was illegitimate. The country knew nothing of the new bargain with Louis; it was unconscious that Charles had sold himself and England to the French king; while on the other hand it had become very much ashamed of the panic into which it had fallen over the Popish Plot.

Thus the tide of reaction in favour of Charles swept higher and higher; and in 1683 it was strengthened by the discovery of the Rye House Plot, formed by a few extremists to assassinate both James and Charles. In England assassination plots always add to the popularity of the intended victims.

So we can understand how it was that after the Whig collapse, in March 1681, Charles was able to go his own way. He had his standing army, not large but large enough, besides an army in The King's Scotland. He had enough money, for so long as he could position. keep Louis's favour; and he had the reaction in popular sentiment. He, or England, paid the shameful price to Louis: Tangier, in English hands the key of the Mediterranean, was evacuated, and the garrison was withdrawn though the troops were not disbanded. By a master-stroke of ingenuity Charles made sure that if he should again find it necessary to call a parliament, it would be strongly Royalist. The strength of the Opposition had lain in the boroughs, where Nonconformity was powerful in spite of the Clarendon Code. The borough elected its own Corporation or governing body, and the Corporation

generally elected the parliamentary member for the borough. Legally, the Corporations held their powers by ancient royal charters; but they had long been exercising, in practice, powers which the charters had never given them. On the ground that they had broken the conditions and therefore had legally forfeited their privileges, a large number of boroughs were required to surrender their charters, to be replaced by new charters; and the new charters practically turned the new Corporations into nominees of the Crown. So in the next House of Commons, the Royalism of the Borough Members was ensured. A new parliament would be more Cavalier than the Cavalier parliament of Clarendon. Unless the Crown went out of its way to stir up some irresistible explosion of popular wrath, and unless it shocked even Cavalier sentiment, it would be able to take its own course. Three years passed. By the Triennial Act, a new parliament was due to be summoned. The completeness of Charles's victory was proved when he let the time go by and continued to rule without one; there was no sign of general resentment—Shaftesbury was dead. In another twelvemonth (February 1685), before any new crisis arose, Charles himself had quitted the stage—wearing to the last the mask with which for five-and-twenty years he had deceived the world. But when he was lying on his death-bed, he received the sacraments of the dying according to the rites of the Church of Rome.

IV. Ireland, Scotland, and Expansion : 1660-1685.

The Commonwealth Unions—The Irish Settlement—Scotland—The Colonies.

BEFORE going on to the story of the great Whig Revolution we must see how Ireland and Scotland were faring under the Restoration, and how the expansion oversea was progressing.

During the Protectorate the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland disappeared. In place of them, each of those countries sent representatives to the parliament at Westminster. In form they were for the first time united with England under a single supreme government to which the separate administration of each of the three was responsible. In all three however the Cavaliers were deprived of the franchise or vote; the parliaments 'represented' only the part of the population which supported the Puritan revolution. As members of one state however,

1. The
Common-
wealth
Union,
1652-60.

no distinction was made between the trade, commerce, and shipping of the three; which did no harm to England and was much to the advantage of Scotland and Ireland.

The union was practically dissolved with the fall of the Protectorate. The recalled Rump and Long Parliament, and the Convention, were English assemblies. When Charles II. came back to Separation, England, all the English and Irish legislation since 1641, 1660. and all Scottish legislation since 1651, was wiped out, and the three countries stood to each other in the same relations as before the Bishops' War of 1639. Once more England was ruled by 'the king in parliament,' Ireland by a lord-lieutenant and a parliament subordinated to England under Poynings' Law, Scotland by the King's Council (in Scotland, not in England) and a parliament completely under royal control but also completely independent of England.

IN Ireland the ever-loyal Irish Cavalier, Ormonde, became lord-lieutenant. In England the problem of dealing with estates which had changed hands during the Revolution was difficult; in 2. The Irish Ireland it was much more so; and the settlement, in settlement. attempting to be fair, gave satisfaction to no one. Naturally, the Cavalier Anglicans and Catholics who had stood by the government in the insurrection of 1641 had the strongest claims and fared best; the least consideration was given to the Catholics who had combined against the government till the Cessation of 1643. The Scots (Presbyterians) and the Roundhead soldiery (Presbyterian or Independent) who had been settled on the land by Cromwell were allowed to retain a considerable share of it.

But both Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists were excluded from parliament and from the public services in the same way as the Nonconformists in England. Both in England and in Ireland, Anglicans alone enjoyed full political rights, dissenters did not, and Roman Catholics were no less repressed than dissenters. But in England Anglicans were a majority, Roman Catholics a small minority almost all of whom were gentry; in Ireland the Anglicans were a small minority, mostly gentry, whereas the Roman Catholics were four-fifths of the whole population—half the gentry and all the old Irish peasantry, whose hostility had been deepened especially towards the new settlers by Cromwell's doings in Ireland.

SCOTLAND, like Ireland, had never been republican. She had resented

the overthrow of the monarchy, recalled Charles II., and submitted to the Commonwealth only because Cromwell had broken her power of armed resistance. The extravagances of the extreme 3. Scotland : of armed resistance. The extravagances of the extreme
the Covenanter had again driven the great families into
Restoration. opposition to the clergy with whom they had been allied
in the Bishops' War. The restoration therefore of what may be called
the pre-Covenant order of things was welcomed generally; though
by no means universally, when it was found that the new government
was not only Royalist but Anglican, with its Church policy directed by
James Sharp, who had deserted the Presbyterian ministry to be made
archbishop of St. Andrews.

For the parliament repealed all the measures enacted since the
Bishops' War, on the ground that though they had received the royal
assent, it had been given only under compulsion. More
Troubles. bishops were appointed; ministers were not compelled, as
in England, to receive episcopal ordination, but they were required
to subscribe to doctrines which the more rigid of them flatly rejected.
Like the English Nonconformists, great numbers of them resigned their
livings, but retained the loyalty of their congregations; who 'rabbed'
(a word of which the meaning may be easily guessed) the new ministers
who took their places, and attended the 'Conventicles' held by the
'outed' ministers instead of the regular parish services.

In 1664 an Act was passed forbidding Conventicles, and requiring
every one to attend the parish services. The government set about
The enforcing the new law, while the Covenanters, chiefly in
Covenanters. the western Lowlands, openly defied it. The enforce-
ment of the law became a brutal persecution which only bred a fiercer
defiance. The Scots parliament, a tool in the hands of the Crown,
voted supplies with which Lauderdale was building up a standing army;
companies of his troops were practically let loose on the population;
armed collisions developed into what was called the Pentland Rising
when a body of Covenanters, without organisation, marched upon
Edinburgh and were broken up by the government troops. Scores
were hanged; scores were tortured with the 'boot' and the thumb-
screw; and a reign of terror was established which for the time crushed
all resistance. The law was used as an instrument of cruel oppression;
and the conscience of the people soon regarded the officers of the law
as being (literally) in the service of the Devil, and law-breaking as
praiseworthy and righteous. In the seventeenth century the great
majority of people still believed that Satan occasionally appeared in

visible form, either to tempt the righteous or to encourage his own servants.

Beneath the surface the hidden spirit of resistance became fiercer. In 1677 the persecution was redoubled. A large force recruited from the wild Highlands, known as the Highland Host, was quartered in the disturbed districts. At last the fury blazed up. In 1679 the hated Archbishop Sharp fell into the hands of a party of fanatical Covenanters and was murdered with great brutality. The murderers found shelter ; the spark was kindled ; the Covenanters gathered in arms. A party of troopers under command of John Graham of Claverhouse (afterwards Viscount Dundee) was sent to disperse them but was routed at Drumclog. The host of Covenanters grew, but it was badly armed and badly led by fanatical preachers who, as at the battle of Dunbar, overruled the ‘carnal’ knowledge of the men who had military experience. Monmouth—Shaftesbury’s candidate for the succession—was set in command of the great force which overwhelmed them at Bothwell Bridge.

Monmouth was eager to show mercy. He was not given the chance. Charles was fighting his duel with Shaftesbury now, on behalf of James who was sent to Scotland in Monmouth’s place. Half the Covenanters now had become plain rebels ; the other half were treated as if they too were rebels. Force was matched against fanaticism ; intolerance did not distinguish between its victims, and for five years and more the persecution went on mercilessly. There were countless stories of martyrdoms, of innocent women put to death, of men shot before their wives’ eyes by the troopers ; the whole thing reached its height in what became known as the Killing Time, when James himself had become king. The Cameronians, as the extreme Covenanters came to be called after one of their leaders, were not the Scottish nation, but the Scottish people have never forgotten the horror of those unhappy days.

For the story of expansion beyond the sea, we must for a moment go back farther than the Restoration, for the Commonwealth period though it added only Jamaica to the dominions has other features of importance which we have been obliged to pass by.

Thus we have to note first that the New England or northern colonies, being of Puritan origin, were on the Roundhead side, whereas the southern plantations, being Anglican or Roman Catholic, would have

given active support to the Crown but for one fact. Parliament always controlled the fleet, and warships were an argument which the Plantations could not resist.

Secondly, the northern colonies in particular were watching the French in the basin of the St. Lawrence with jealous eyes. This led to the first experiment in the direction of forming a union of the colonies under a common authority. Each of the colonies was actually a separate community, independent of the rest, with its own laws and its own government. But for a time a voluntary union was formed among the northern group, with an eye to the possible need of joint military action against the French. The colonies were so fearful of losing any fraction of their separate freedom of action that the union broke up again after the Restoration, and was only revived more than a century afterwards when the independence of each and all of them from the mother-country's control was at stake.

Thirdly, in the same period began the evil practice of punishing 'rebels' by sending them out to the plantations as 'slaves'—that is to say, labourers who could not sell their services for wages but were, for a term of years, the property of the owners who bought them. This was the fate which befell a great number of the prisoners taken at Preston, and in one after another of the rebellions for a long time to come. When the practice had been started, 'labour on the plantations' became one of the regular penalties for persons convicted of various offences whom otherwise it would have been necessary to lock up in English prisons for long periods at considerable cost.

Actual expansion became active again after the Restoration. The new group of plantations called the Carolinas was planted in the south ; the Dutch colony on the Hudson was ceded to England and became New York ; the Quaker William Penn obtained from Charles II. the charter for Pennsylvania between New York and the plantations, a colony in which religion was absolutely free. Also in the cold north, beyond the French on the St. Lawrence, a great territory was claimed—known first as Prince Rupert's Land and afterwards as the Hudson Bay Territory—and granted to a company for the development of fur hunting and the fur trade. It did not attract agricultural or industrial settlers or any one who was in love with the comforts of civilisation or dreamed of growing rich.

The Restoration was the great period of the Buccaneers, the successors

of the old Elizabethan adventurers, who acted on the time-honoured doctrine that there was 'no peace beyond the line.' Their main field of operations was among the West India islands, and they preyed more particularly upon the Spaniards. They were of all nations—Dutch and French as well as English; their crews were mixed, their fleets often worked in concert, and though they did not generally attack ships of their own nationality they were in plain terms pirates. But among their number there were distinguished sailors and explorers; at times they acted in the service of their respective governments—one of them, Henry Morgan, was knighted and made governor of Jamaica by Charles II. as a reward for his brilliant exploits against the Spaniards—and it was not till a later date that they degenerated into pirates and nothing but pirates, enemies of all honest and peaceable folk.

During the Restoration period a change was taking place in the attitude of the mother-country towards her colonies. Colonisation had started simply as a commercial enterprise. Private persons had joined together to establish a settlement in America out of which they hoped to make money, and the government had granted them the authority necessary to carry out their plan, merely reserving to itself the right to exercise control if it thought fit to do so. In the second stage, the motive was not money-making but religious freedom. In both cases the thing was done by private enterprise unaided by the State, which hardly exercised its powers of control.

The next phase opened with the Navigation Acts. The object of these Acts was to increase and multiply English fleets—sea-power; to strengthen the State for war on the seas. Sea-power would in the long run increase commerce; it would not matter if for the time it checked the commerce of a part of what we may begin to call the Empire. The Acts stopped the carrying trade of the Dutch—the colonists had no shipping of their own—and until the English could do the carrying as well and as cheaply, the exports from the colonies did not increase as they would otherwise have done. But the Empire, including the colonists in the long run, profited by the increase of sea-power. Neither the Commonwealth statesmen, nor Clarendon and Shaftesbury in the early years of Charles II., were thinking of benefiting the mother-country at the expense of the colonies—they were thinking of the interests of the Empire as a whole. What the colonists saw, however, was gain to England and loss to themselves.

Moreover the English merchants were now exercising an increasing influence in parliament, and from this time we find them seeking to stop the export from the colonies, and the production in Restrictions. the colonies, of goods which would in any market compete with their own produce. Also from this time we find governors being appointed to the colonies from home, who regarded the colonies as dependencies from which the mother-country was entitled to extract all the benefits she could. The restrictions on their trade did not prevent them from flourishing—but they would have flourished still more without them, and felt a grievance against the mother-country in consequence.

CHRONOLOGY

1660-1685.

GREAT BRITAIN.

EUROPE

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1660-85. CHARLES II. | 1660. Louis XIV. rules France. |
| 1660. Restoration settlement. | |
| Clarendon minister. | |
| 1661-79. Cavalier Parliament. | |
| 1661. Corporation Act. | |
| 1662. Act of Uniformity. | |
| Secession of Nonconform- | |
| ists from the Church. | |
| 1664. Conventicle Act. | 1664. Colbert minister in |
| | France. |
| 1665-67. Second Dutch War. | 1665-1700. Charles II., king of |
| The Plague in London. | Spain. |
| Five Mile Act. | |
| 1666. Fire of London. | |
| Appropriation of Supply. | |
| 1667. Dutch in the Medway. | 1667. Louis makes claims on |
| Dutch colony on the Hud- | Spanish Netherlands. |
| son becomes New York. | 'War of Devolution.' |
| Fall of Clarendon. | |
| 1668. The Triple Alliance. | |
| 1670. Treaty of Dover. | |
| 1672-74. Third Dutch War. | 1672-78. Holland and France at |
| 1672. First Declaration of In- | war. |
| dulgence. | 1672. William of Orange stadth- |
| Stop of the Exchequer. | holder. |
| 1673. Test Act. | |
| 1673-79. Danby minister. | |
| 1677. Princess Mary m. | |
| William of Orange. | |

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| <p>1678. The Popish Plot.
Danby impeached. 'Ministerial Responsibility.'</p> <p>1679. Scotland: murder of Archbishop Sharp.
Second Parliament: first Exclusion Bill.
Habeas Corpus Act.</p> <p>1679-87. Scotland: persecution of Covenanters.</p> <p>1680. Whigs and Tories.</p> <p>1681. The Oxford Parliament.</p> <p>1682. Confiscation of Town Charters.</p> <p>1683. Rye House Plot.</p> <p>1685-88. JAMES II. and VII.</p> | <p>1678. Peace of Nimeguen.
Louis XIV. at the height of power.</p>

<p>1682. Accession of Peter the Great in Russia.</p>

<p>1685. Revocation of Edict of Nantes; persecution of Huguenots.</p> |
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STATUTES, 1660-1685

THE Clarendon Code, 1661-1665.—(1) The *Corporation Act*, 1661, requires all town officials to renounce the Covenant and to attend the Anglican rite of Communion. (2) The *Act of Uniformity*, 1662, requires all the clergy to use the Anglican Church services and to receive ordination at the hands of bishops. (3) The *Conventicle Act*, 1664, forbids the assembly of more than five persons for the holding of religious services other than those of the Church of England. (4) The *Five Mile Act*, 1665, forbids ministers other than clergy of the Anglican Church to teach in schools or to reside within five miles of any corporate town.

The **Test Act** of 1673 supplements the Clarendon Code by requiring all persons holding office under the Crown to attend Communion according to the Anglican rite, and to make a declaration against the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation.

The Act of 1678 disables Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.

The **Habeas Corpus Act** in 1679 entitles any prisoner who has not been convicted to require the issue of a writ of Habeas Corpus; whereupon he must be brought before the Judges within twenty days and be released on bail, unless the charge is one of treason or felony. In the case of treason or felony a longer time is required before the prisoner can claim to be released on bail or discharged. Before the passing of this Act it had been possible to interpose various legal obstacles to the speedy trial of prisoners.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WHIG REVOLUTION : 1685-1714.

I. James II. and VII. : 1685-1688.

Monmouth's Rebellion—The Declarations of Indulgence—The Fall.

THE reign of James II. of England, VII. of Scotland, was the first act in the drama of the Whig Revolution which was completed by the accession of George I. in 1714. There was no thought of opposing his succession. Charles II. had at last won for the Crown by twenty years of successful dissimulation an ascendancy which it had not enjoyed for eighty years. That was the legacy he left to his brother, who threw it away by sheer stupidity and obstinacy. If he had been content to ask for some relaxation of the repressive laws against the adherents of his own creed and the Nonconformists, there would have been no strong resistance. He was sure of a thoroughly Cavalier parliament. Even extremists had no chance of organising successful rebellion in face of the troops controlled by the Crown—the 'household' troops formed of Monk's regiments which had never been disbanded, the troops back from Tangier, the army in Scotland. If he chose to pursue a policy approved by the Cavaliers or Tories and to break with Louis, he need have no fear of facing parliaments. He threw it all away because he was bent on setting up a Roman Catholic ascendancy and asserting the royal authority in defiance of law and public opinion, so that the Tories and the army united against him with the Whigs in self-defence; and he lost the chance which still remained to him by flight from the country.

James began sensibly enough. The proclamation on his accession promised security to the Church and for the liberties of his subjects.

Parliament was summoned in May, proved enthusiastically loyal, and voted ample supplies. The extremists raised their insurrection in June headed by Monmouth, but it was supported only in the west country and was crushed with ease, though the insurgents fought heroically for what they took to be the Cause

of Protestantism. The manner of crushing it was James's first blunder. Moderation and leniency would have completely won the public confidence in the new government : but Colonel Kirke with his regiment from Tangier—' Kirke's lambs '—hunted down the insurgents like vermin after their decisive defeat at Sedgmoor ; Judge Jeffreys was sent down to conduct what was known as the ' Bloody Assize ' ; crowds of prisoners were condemned to death, crowds more were sent to the plantations for having shown sympathy with the insurgents ; a lady who had given food and shelter to fugitives suffered as a ' traitor.' Monmouth himself was captured and executed.

The folly of executing Monmouth was not apparent at the moment. It gave the opportunity to the Whigs of becoming united. The alternative now to James would only be found in his A new legitimate heirs Mary and William of Orange ; situation. neither they nor their supporters in England would ever have raised a finger to set Monmouth on the throne, but now that the duke was gone, all the Shaftesbury Whigs were ready to turn to William and Mary. Moreover just at this time English friendliness to Holland and hostility to Louis was being greatly intensified by the French king's sudden and cruel persecution of the Huguenots and the revocation of Henry iv.'s Edict of Nantes, the old charter of toleration for French Protestantism, and the *dragonnades* which were even more brutal and had less political excuse than the harrying of the Scottish Covenanters.

The savagery with which Monmouth's insurrection was suppressed and punished excited alarm, but it only satisfied James that wary walking was unnecessary. When parliament met again in November, he demanded the repeal of the Habeas Corpus and Test Acts, and supplies for maintaining the army, to which Roman Catholic officers had already been appointed, in spite of the Test Act, by the exercise of the ' dispensing ' power of the royal prerogative. The demands went so much beyond anything that had been expected that they were hotly resisted ; and James, in anger, prorogued the parliament which had begun by supporting him so warmly—without waiting for supplies to be voted. It did not meet again, though it was not finally dissolved till 1687.

THROUGHOUT 1686 James was plunging along his dangerous career. He created by royal authority a new Court of Ecclesiastical Commission—something like Laud's old High Commission Court—with Jeffreys to preside over it ; and the Court suspended the bishop of London

because he had not punished one of his clergy for denouncing Popery. He removed Judges whom he suspected of being too independent and put in their places men who were certain to favour the Crown; and he arranged a trial (known as Hales's Case) so as to get a judgment declaring that appointments made by the Crown acting on its 'dispensing power' were legal—on the strength of which he went on to appoint Romanists right and left to offices forbidden under the Test Act; he even conferred Church benefices upon Romanists. Romanists were admitted to the Privy Council, and a Romanist, Talbot—whom he created earl of Tyrconnel—was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Thus he drove into opposition pronounced Anglicans even if they were such genuine Royalists as Laurence Hyde, now earl of Rochester, or his brother's old Cavalier minister Danby. But instead of realising that he was heading straight for ruin, he plunged deeper in the mire. He could not help seeing that the Anglicans were turning against him, so he tried to win over the Protestant Nonconformists by issuing a general Declaration of Indulgence (as Charles had done once, only to withdraw it in a year), entirely suspending the Test Act (April 1687). But when the Nonconformists saw offices of all kinds showered on Papists, they became more alarmed than grateful for their own relief; while Anglicans, formerly the most ardent champions of royal rights, could not but view the whole thing as a direct attack upon the Church herself.

The crisis came when the Declaration was renewed at the end of twelve months, accompanied this time by an order that the clergy should read it from their pulpits to their congregations on 20th May. Seven bishops, among them the Primate, Sancroft, drew up a petition requesting the king to withdraw the order. It was presented to James on 18th May, published on the 19th, and on the 20th only seven of the London clergy obeyed the order. A few days later the seven bishops were arrested and sent to the Tower, while the populace cheered them enthusiastically, on the charge of publishing a 'seditious libel.'

Opposition only made James more obstinate, and just at this moment, two days after the imprisonment of the bishops, an event happened which in his infatuation he regarded as a mark of divine favour, though in fact it hurried on his downfall. On 10th June his childless second wife, Mary of Modena, to whom he had been wedded for ten years, at last quite unexpectedly bore him a son.

2. James
makes
enemies,
1686-7.

Declaration
of Indul-
gence, 1687.

The Seven
Bishops,
1688.

Birth of an
heir.

The world, taken completely by surprise, jumped to the conclusion that the story was false—the baby was not the queen's child at all; it had been smuggled into her chamber, to be brought up as the lawful heir to the throne, a Papist successor to the Papist king in order to shut out the true heirs, his Protestant daughters and their Protestant husbands. Such was the fable in which the common folk honestly believed, and Whigs and disaffected Tories from the king's daughters down professed belief.

On 29th June the bishops were tried. On 30th June the king's own troops on Hounslow Heath and the whole population of London were shouting themselves hoarse, the bells in every steeple were ringing, and at night bonfires blazed, to celebrate the news that the jury had dared to acquit them. And that night Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common seaman, was speeding across the Channel with a message to William of Orange, urging him to come to England with an armed force and demand not the deposition of James but the recognition of his wife and himself as lawful heirs to the throne. The message was signed by the bishop of London (who was not one of the seven), by the Tories Danby and Lunley, and by four Whig leaders.

An invitation to William.

LOUIS might have saved James. He did not mean to see his indomitable foe, William, wearing the crown of England. A French attack on Holland at this time—every one knew that Louis was only biding his time to make it—would compel the Dutch and their stadtholder to devote all their energies and all their resources to the urgent business of defending their own territories; they would have none to spare for any sort of intervention in England. But Louis was annoyed with James who had rejected his advice. He was inclined to teach his cousin the lesson that he was Louis's dependent; a fright would be good for him. Therefore, having designs upon the Palatinate as well as on Holland, he had decided to postpone the attack on Holland and take the Palatinate first. To that programme he was already committed beyond recall when the crisis arrived in England. William and the Dutch had breathing time to follow their own devices; while James was actually treating Louis's proffers of aid as insults to be resented.

3. Louis.

For weeks James stubbornly refused to believe that William was preparing an expedition. When he could no longer doubt, he made haste to gather more troops from Scotland and Ireland, whose coming

the English troops—and people—angrily resented. Then he took fright again, and started on a series of hasty concessions, to bring to Blunders of his side the new parliament which he had promised to James. call in November; but the concessions only convinced the public that he was in a state of panic. In marked contrast William, whose expedition was delayed by contrary winds, published a declaration that he was coming only to demand that all the questions in dispute should be submitted to a freely elected parliament.

On 1st November a 'Protestant wind' blew from the east, and on 5th November William and his Dutchmen landed at Tor Bay in Devon. William in James still had his chance. If he had boldly proclaimed England. that no king of England would submit to the dictation of a foreign prince backed by the presence of foreign troops on English soil, and had marched for the west at the head of his army, every waverer would have joined him and William would have hurried back to his ships. But he hesitated, distrusting every one—his soldiers, their officers, his own counsellors. The waverers began slipping off to join William. After fatal delay he went to his own army gathered on Salisbury Plain: William began to advance; James began to retreat; the desertions multiplied day by day. On the field of battle James was no coward, but he had none of the courage which grows more stubborn in the face of difficulties. The time-servers were leaving him in shoals; the loyalists who stood by him gave him unpalatable though wholesome advice. He must summon parliament; he must parley with William. He yielded, and sent them to hold conference with his son-in-law, but even while they were making terms he was resolving on flight. On the night of 9th December he secretly shipped off his wife and the infant James Edward to France. Before morning broke he was escaping after them down the river, into which he dropped the Great Seal, the impression of which had to be attached to official documents which were not of legal force without the royal authority. And he had destroyed the writs which were being issued for the new parliament.

His flight appeared to have solved William's difficulties much more effectively than his own. William had not claimed the crown; he was a foreigner with no legal authority to dictate to the king or to England; now there was no one else who had the legal authority, and he could at least watch over the formation of the temporary government which would have to assume authority. By the Peers who had stood loyally

by James as his Council he was invited to help in framing a settlement which should command general assent.

But the play was not over yet. The fugitive king was captured and brought back to shore by a party of fishermen who had mistaken him for an escaping Jesuit. He was still king. He was not The second a prisoner. The Peers hastened to escort him to London flight. in state. The last thing William desired was a resort to violence; yet if James had the courage to stand up to him, he would have to choose between violence and withdrawal.

But James lacked the courage. He did exactly what William most desired him to do. Ten days after his involuntary return he had vanished again, and on Christmas Day he was in France. The reign of James II. was over, and the Whig Revolution was under way.

II. The Revolution Settlement : 1689-1696.

In England—In Scotland—In Ireland.

JAMES took flight from England for the second time on 22nd December 1688. On 13th February William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England, and in May of Scotland. But in 1. The Ireland James was still king. The Jacobites—the adher- Revolution. ents of James of which the Latin form, used in legal documents, is *Jacobus*—did not, in England, take arms to support his cause; in Scotland armed resistance to the new rule was ended before the year closed; Ireland was not subdued till 1691. Both in Scotland and Ireland some time passed before the new system—greatly changed from that of the past in both—was completely established.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century the legal year was reckoned in this country as beginning not on 1st January but on Lady Day, 25th March, though in popular usage it was dated from 'New Year's Day.' So that William became king in February 1689 N.S. or New Style, as we reckon, but 1688 O.S. or Old Style; and the change keeps its old name as the 'Revolution of 1688.'

Eight weeks passed before William was proclaimed. When James fled there was no king, and no parliament because there was no House of Commons. But the officers of state were there, and The Conven the Peers. As there was no one else to do it, the Peers tion, 1689. acted as a provisional or temporary government in charge of the realm. The flight of James was treated as an Act of Abdication on his part.

Since the king had abdicated, the throne was empty. William did not claim the crown ; but he would not burden himself with English affairs unless England chose to offer it to him. He would not be a mere regent, nor merely his wife's minister. She would not accept the crown unless he shared it with her. England needed a strong man who was not a mere party leader, to prevent the return of James which not one person in ten desired. The Peers called a Convention—like that which had restored Charles II., it was not summoned by the king's writ and therefore was not strictly a Parliament—and the Convention offered the crown to William and Mary jointly, on terms. When one died, the other should go on reigning. Their children, if they had any, were to succeed them. If they had none, then Anne or her children. If Mary died first and William married again and had children, they would stand next in succession to Anne and her offspring. But William should only have the throne if he pledged himself to accept the Declaration of Right.

That Declaration laid down what were to be thenceforth the Principles of Constitutional Rule, mainly by denouncing as illegal the questionable claims and practices of James. The king cannot suspend the laws ; the dispensing power may not be used improperly or excessively. A standing army may not be maintained without consent of parliament. The king may not by his own authority create new law-courts. On the other hand, freedom to petition the king, freedom of discussion in parliament, the frequent meeting of parliament, are popular rights. The people may not be taxed without consent of their representatives.

William and Mary accepted the conditions and became king and queen. Then the king in parliament passed a series of laws. The Bill of Rights made a statute of the Declaration of Right, with some additions. The king must reject Transubstantiation and other Romish doctrines, and conform to the Anglican Liturgy. He must not be the husband, nor might a queen reigning in her own right be the wife, of a Roman Catholic. No Roman Catholic might sit in the House of Peers.

Then a Toleration Act repealed the Five Mile and Conventicle Acts, but not the Act of Uniformity or the Corporation and Test Acts. That is, the Protestant Nonconformists were free to worship as they chose, but could not hold public offices without professing conformity to the Church. The annual meeting of parliament was secured, as well as control of the standing army, by

the Mutiny Act. Discipline could be maintained only by keeping troops under 'martial law,' regulations enforced by penalties not existing under common law. The Act sanctioned martial law for twelve months only. Unless it were renewed at the end of that time, there would be no authority to keep the troops under discipline. It could only be renewed by parliament, therefore if the army was to be kept in existence, parliament must meet once a year to renew the Mutiny Act.

Two points were left to be dealt with later in the reign. The need of calling annual parliaments was ensured; but there was nothing to prevent the Crown, if it procured a subservient parliament—one which could be trusted to carry out the king's wishes—Later Acts. from keeping that parliament on at its service as long as it chose, though it might have long ceased to express the popular will. In 1694 a new Triennial Act required that every parliament should be dissolved within three years of its election. Finally the power of the Crown had frequently throughout the Stewart reigns been exercised through Judges who ran the risk of being dismissed if their judgments were not given in the Crown's favour. A section of the Act of Settlement passed in 1701 forbade the dismissal of any Judge, except on petition of both Houses of Parliament.

IN England the settlement in the main established by statute the rights of parliament which it had been asserting against the Crown during the reigns of four Stewart kings. In Scotland there was 2. The settlement in Scotland. a complete change of system. There for centuries the government had been in the hands of the committee of parliament known as the 'Lords of the Articles,' and for nearly a hundred years the committee itself had been the tool of the king's Council. Since the Restoration the Council had been able to trample down all active resistance by means of a standing army. When William landed, James lost that mastery by calling the troops and their commander Claverhouse ('Bonnie Dundee') to England. The persecution of the Covenanters had set almost the entire country against James; his supporters hurried away to England, and the Scots were prompt to follow the English example, to declare that James had forfeited the crown, and to offer it to William and Mary—on conditions. Those conditions claimed for the Scottish parliament very much the same rights as those asserted by the English parliament, and demanded that the Kirk should be wholly Presbyterian, and that Prelacy and

Bishops should disappear. The conditions were accepted ; William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen three months later than in England. Scotland of course was not in any way bound to follow England's lead ; she acted as an independent state, and was no more subject to England than she had been before.

Dundee however had to be reckoned with. He remained loyal to the fugitive king, whom he hoped to restore by force of arms. Like Dundee. Montrose before him, he raised the Jacobite clans in the

Highlands, though he knew that he had no better chance than Montrose of leading the clansmen to an effective conquest without other support. Government troops were sent against him, and he routed them utterly, after Montrose's own fashion, in the Pass of Killiecrankie. But in the moment of victory he fell, pierced by a silver bullet—no leaden bullet, men believed, would slay one who like 'Claver'se' was in league with the Foul Fiend. His death was fatal to the cause for which he fell. The clansmen scattered, and armed resistance ceased after a short campaign.

Now the Highlands were very different from the Lowlands. Beyond the Highland line, the borderland between the two, every one spoke Gaelic, a language entirely different from that of the Highlands. The Lowlanders, which itself differed no more from north-country English than north-country English from that of the south of England. Every district was occupied by a clan, every clansman gave unquestioning allegiance to his chief. The enemies of the chief were the enemies of the clan. The law the clan obeyed was the custom of the clan and the will of the chief, not the laws made by the Scottish government. No king of Scots had ever been able to control the clans, which waged fierce feuds against each other, raiding their neighbours, and 'lifting' their cattle whenever they were so minded. They fought under Montrose or Dundee chiefly because they hated the Campbells and held Lowlanders generally in contempt—not because they were fervent Royalists. The hate and contempt were stronger than ever, because many—perhaps most—of the Highlanders were Roman Catholics ; and as a matter of course their sympathies were on the side of the Roman Catholic prince.

So though the Highland army dispersed, no one could ever feel sure that there would not be some sudden outbreak. At Fort William and Glencoe, elsewhere, fortresses were planted and garrisoned with government troops. In 1691 events in Ireland put an end to Jacobite hopes of effective help from France. When an amnesty,

a full pardon for past offences, was promised to all who took the oath of allegiance to William by 1st January 1692 N.S. (1691 O.S.—so sometimes written 1691/2), all the chiefs came in except MacIan, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who was a week behind time in taking the oath.

Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair—who bore that title as heir to his father, Viscount Stair—a Scottish statesman in whom William had great confidence, wanted an excuse for destroying MacIan and his clan, who in fact were very troublesome and lawless people. MacIan's delay left him out of the amnesty, according to the letter of the law. Dalrymple obtained from William authority to extirpate this 'nest of robbers.' Troops of the Campbell clan passed through Glencoe, on their way elsewhere. They rested for some days among the unsuspecting Macdonalds who received them hospitably as guests. Then one night, without warning, they rose and massacred their hosts, women and children as well as men—having the government order to extirpate the robbers.

The business was a piece of the blackest cruelty and treachery. William had given the order without examining the case against MacIan or giving any instruction as to the way in which it was to be carried out. Public opinion compelled an inquiry some time later, but no one was punished. The natural result was that all through the Highlands hostility to the government grew and went on growing, and along with it the mild sentiment in favour of James deepened and strengthened, though slowly, into a fervent Jacobite creed.

IN Ireland we saw that there were four divisions of the population ; the Protestants, one-fifth of the whole, divided into the Anglican half, which alone enjoyed full political rights, and the Puritan half which, little as it loved the Anglican section, was still more hostile to the Roman Catholics at whose expense it had been planted on the soil ; and the Catholics, four-fifths of the whole, of whom one section had always stood by the Crown, while the other section, though resenting English rule and the English connection, had sided with the Royalists in the Civil War as the best chance of averting a Puritan domination. 3. Ireland.

Now the hopes of the whole Catholic population had risen high under the rule of the avowedly Catholic King James. He had given them a Catholic lord-lieutenant, Tyrconnel, and relaxed the repressive laws. Every Catholic was a Jacobite, and Tyrconnel's government was

Jacobite. Before the deposition of James and the accession of William would be recognised in Ireland, the country would have to be conquered. Puritans and Anglicans who supported the Revolution were at once swept into the two fortified towns of Derry and Enniskillen in the north, which they held stubbornly for the new king. From Ireland as his base, James proposed to recover his lost crown. Within three months of his flight from England he was in Dublin as reigning king. Ireland had in no sense accepted for herself the English Revolution. In Ireland, the rebels were not the Jacobites but the Williamites.

James called an Irish parliament. The exclusion of Catholics was of course suspended, and the parliament was overwhelmingly Catholic. Moderation on its part and on that of James would have brought to his side every one who, like many or most of the English Tories, had turned against the Crown only when it seemed to be the sole way of escape from a Catholic tyranny. But the parliament made it perfectly clear that a Catholic tyranny was exactly what it intended to set up. This was natural enough, for the great Catholic majority felt that it had been robbed and bound under the tyranny of a small Protestant minority. But it was bad policy, because it made reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant in Ireland hopeless—if the Catholics won.

William at first regarded Ireland as of no pressing importance. He sent a couple of regiments to garrison Derry which was hard pressed. Their commander was on the point of surrendering; but the people of Derry, grimly resolved to fight to the last gasp, turned him out, appointed new commanders, and defied the besiegers. Sheer starvation had almost destroyed their power of resistance when at the end of July English ships at last forced their way up the river Foyle with supplies. They were saved, and the siege was raised. On the same day, the Enniskilleners routed the Jacobite forces at Newtown Butler.

William sent more forces to Ireland, but no active operations for a conquest were undertaken in the autumn and winter.

In 1690 Louis sent some French troops and officers to help James, but like William he did not feel the need for a decisive campaign there.

Neither of them used his fleet to prevent the other from carrying troops to Ireland. But at last William realised that Ireland must be secured before he could afford to leave his new kingdom and fight Louis on the Continent. In June he carried an army over to Ireland; on 1st July he defeated James at the battle of

the Boyne. The French fleet was at the time so strong that it might have made William's passage to Ireland impossible ; for on June 30th it inflicted a crushing defeat on the English off Beachy Head. But it had not attempted to enter St. George's Channel. The victory on the Boyne was by no means overwhelming ; it was actually decisive because James lost heart, retreated, and—took ship for France.

The flight was fatal to the Jacobite cause. The south and west still held out so stoutly that it was not till the next midsummer (1691) that the Jacobites found themselves driven to a last desperate stand in Limerick under the heroic leadership of Patrick Sarsfield. ^{Limerick, 1691.} Even then it was only when William's Dutch general Ginkel brought up a 'train' of siege artillery which made prolonged resistance hopeless that the gallant Sarsfield capitulated, making his own terms. He would give up the town only on condition that the garrison should be free either to leave the country and take service elsewhere, or to remain as loyal subjects of William ; that Catholics were to have all liberties enjoyed by them under Charles II. ; and that an amnesty should be granted, covering the great majority of those who had supported the claim of James. The fighting was over.

Had the English and Irish governments confirmed the capitulation of Limerick as they were in honour bound to do, and then pursued in Ireland the same policy of justice and limited toleration that William followed in England, Ireland would have been pacified, perhaps even reconciled. ^{The Penal Laws, 1692-6.} Another course was taken—natural again, but short-sighted. When men's passions have been so roused, the sense of justice grows dim. The Catholic parliament of Dublin in 1689 had shown its vindictive intentions. Now, London and Dublin both ignored the terms of the capitulation. The English parliament passed an Act excluding from the Irish parliament all Roman Catholics. The purely Protestant parliament of Ireland, assembling in 1695, passed a series of vindictive acts against the Catholics, known as the Penal Laws. Papists were not only barred, as in England, from holding any public office, civil or military ; they were forbidden to act as teachers at all, even in private families. The Roman Catholic clergy were banished. No Papist might carry arms, or own a horse worth more than £5. The estates of Papists were not actually forfeited ; but they were broken up, because, instead of going to the eldest son, they were divided among all the children. If any of the children were Protestants, they inherited the whole, their Catholic brothers and sisters nothing. And marriage between Protestants

and Roman Catholics was forbidden. The Catholics were left so utterly defenceless that the Jacobites never again thought of an insurrection in Ireland. But the hate planted by the Elizabethans and watered by Cromwell spread its roots wider and deeper than ever.

III. William of Orange : 1689-1702.

The King and the English Parties—The French War, 1689-97—
Jacobite Plots and Party Government—The Spanish Succession.

THE accession of William excited no enthusiasm. William himself wished to be king, but only for the purpose of bringing England vigorously into a league of European Powers against his enemy France. His own heart was in Holland. Whigs and Tories had united to bring him to England because both felt that the arbitrary rule of James II. must end, and that the coming—and, when James fled, the coronation—of William was the only way of securing its ending. Both also were hostile to the French alliance. But the Tories counted his accession as at best a disagreeable necessity, and half of them—including most of the ‘seven bishops’—had conscientious doubts as to whether they could cast off their allegiance to an anointed king and swear allegiance to another king in his place. There remained a small body of determined Jacobites who were ready to go almost any lengths to restore the ‘rightful king’ to his throne. If William put himself in the hands of the Whigs, the half-hearted support of the Tories would be transferred to the Jacobites. If he did not, the Whigs themselves might think they had gained nothing by the change of crowns. They regarded the deposition of James as a party victory of which they ought to reap the fruits—among which was vengeance on the Tories.

William wanted the solid support of the country for his war. As a matter of policy, the Tories must not be driven over to the Jacobite camp; therefore they must not be vindictively treated. He himself must be king of the whole country, not the chief of a faction. His sense of justice made him agree with the Whigs on the question of religion, but the Whigs were more likely than the Tories to press further restrictions on the powers of the Crown. So when in 1690 the Convention parliament, being mainly Whig, tried to turn on the Tories, he dissolved it and called a new parliament in which the Tories had a majority. On the question of war however, the parties

were in agreement, and William took his ministers from both. They were in agreement because both disliked France, and neither was willing to recall James, of whose cause the French king had deliberately chosen to make himself champion; though few of them saw, as William did, that the defence of Holland against the aggression of Louis was of vital importance to England herself. The war was anything but 'meaningless' or 'unnecessary.'

LET us look at the position again. Louis had begun by wanting possession of the Spanish Netherlands and the command of the Rhine; whereby he meant to make Holland also, and the German states across the Rhine, dependent on France if not actually parts of the French kingdom. His first war, in the early years of Charles II., had won him fortresses in the Netherlands. His second, when he attacked Holland, had ended with the treaty of Nimeguen, which increased his territories and added to his fortresses; but he had not succeeded in gaining a footing in Holland. He had opened his third war, in 1688, by attacking the Palatinate, just before William sailed for England. Colbert had created a fleet stronger than either England or Holland could in that year send to sea. On the other hand, William had almost completed the League of Augsburg, in form a defensive alliance, between Holland, Spain, Austria, and sundry lesser states, Catholic and Protestant, though there was no certainty that they would all take active part in any struggle which might arise.

Louis's move on the Palatinate was a challenge to the new League; but it secured Holland herself against an attack by land, and though Louis had a good fighting fleet under able commanders, neither he nor his war ministers ever understood how to make good use of it. When William intervened in England, Louis declared war on Holland; when he accepted the crown, Louis was at war with England in rebellion against her lawful sovereign James. But the Palatinate still held the first place in his plans; he gave James little help in Ireland and none in Scotland. The strength of his navy was shown when, early in 1690, a French squadron taking troops to Ireland defeated an English squadron in Bantry Bay, and again in June when Tourville won his great victory over Torrington off Beachy Head—the day before the Boyne battle. But no more use was made of these victories. In 1691, when Limerick alone in the British Isles was still in arms for James, William left England to take command of the English and Dutch troops in the Low Countries.

Apart from one event we need not follow this war closely. On land William rarely won a victory, but never met with a crushing defeat. Louis was fighting against a ring of enemies, had to maintain forces on or beyond every part of the French frontiers, and could never strike a really decisive blow anywhere.

The one really decisive blow was that struck by the English fleet at the battle of La Hogue in May 1692. Since the great defeat off Beachy La Hogue, Head two years before, vigorous efforts had been successfully made to restore its efficiency. Tourville, the French admiral, had orders to fight the English fleet and clear the Channel for an invasion. Obeying orders, and against his own judgment, he attacked the English fleet under Admiral Russell, without waiting for the second fleet which was to join him. (In like manner Monk in 1665 had attacked the Dutch fleet in the Downs without waiting for Rupert.) In the very unequal conflict the French were put to flight; and a dozen of their ships which ran aground under cover of the guns of the fortress of La Hogue were utterly destroyed by the English. The losses were hardly greater than the English had suffered at Beachy Head. But England had then flung herself, as a matter of course, into the work of restoring her navy; France did not attempt to follow her example. After La Hogue the supremacy of the English navy on the seas was taken for granted by every one.

Louis gained nothing at all by the war, which was ended by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. He never understood what he had lost and what England had decisively won at La Hogue. He had lost little else, though he had been compelled to recognise William instead of James as the lawful king of England. That is the only excuse for calling this war—as some books do—the War of the English Succession. For of all the dozen states or so, large and small, which took some part in the war, it was only in England and Holland that the English succession was counted among its leading issues.

DURING all this time from 1689 to 1697 neither the Whigs nor the majority of the Tories wished for the return of James, but neither felt sure that he might not recover his throne. Nearly every one of importance in both parties was carrying on a secret correspondence with the exiled court at St. Germain, where Louis had established James; generally with the purpose not of bringing James back but of securing his favour in case he did come back. At the

beginning of 1691 a plot known as Preston's Plot was discovered, aiming at a restoration. There was nothing very dangerous about it; one of the conspirators was executed and two were confined in the Tower for a short time. William was well aware of the scheming and intriguing that were going on. He knew that hardly any one—except his own Dutch friends—was to be trusted. But though he sometimes let the culprits know that he knew, he never denounced them or punished them unless so much of their guilt had become generally known that it could not be passed over.

In 1696 however, Barclay's Plot could not be ignored. It began as a plan, which any Jacobite might have supported with a clear conscience, for a rising of English Jacobites supported by a French invasion. The conspiracy broke down, because the French wanted the rising first with the invasion to follow, whereas the Jacobites wanted the French troops to land before they themselves rose. Neither would take the first step. So the authorised scheme came to nothing. But a certain Sir George Barclay had introduced into it a plan of his own for assassinating William. Even in Elizabeth's time few Englishmen could be found to take part in assassination plots; some one generally gave warning to the authorities. So it was with Barclay's Plot. Even then William refused to push inquiries or examine any more evidence than was necessary for the condemnation of persons palpably guilty.

But one of them, Sir John Fenwick, while awaiting his trial, gave information against several prominent persons, Whigs and Tories, of treasonable intrigues; information which was no news to William, who preferred to ignore what he knew. Whigs, Tories, and William all resented Fenwick's action, and when it appeared that the case against Fenwick himself would probably break down on a purely technical point, he was condemned to death by Act of Attainder—Fenwick was the last victim of this unjust practice.

Sir John
Fenwick,
1697.

We are sometimes told that William began the practice of Party Government—that is, of taking all his ministers from one party. This is not quite true. He always wished to choose his men without regard to party—to have both Whigs and Tories among them. But during this period—while the war was going on—he found it so difficult to make them work in harmony that it became necessary for a time to take all but one or two from the Whigs. But, as soon as he could, he returned to the old practice, which continued through the first years of his successor. After 1694 it was more diffi-

cult than ever for William to resist the claims of the Whigs, because at the end of that year Queen Mary died. Till then it had been possible for Tories to say that since James had abdicated and the child James Edward was 'supposititious,' not really the son of James and his wife, Mary was the rightful queen. But when she was dead, William's only right to the crown was his agreement with the Convention; he reigned not by any hereditary right—since he stood after Anne and her offspring in the line of succession—but solely by a parliamentary title, which was sufficient according to Whig doctrines, but not according to Cavalier or Tory principles. Added to this, when a new parliament was called the Whigs had a big majority in the Commons. Thus everything combined to make the Whigs a 'Government' party and the Tories an 'Opposition,' and to give the Whigs a right to claim that the government should be carried on according to Whig ideas.

WHEN peace had been made with France, Tory antagonism to William increased; since by the treaty of Ryswick Louis had acknowledged

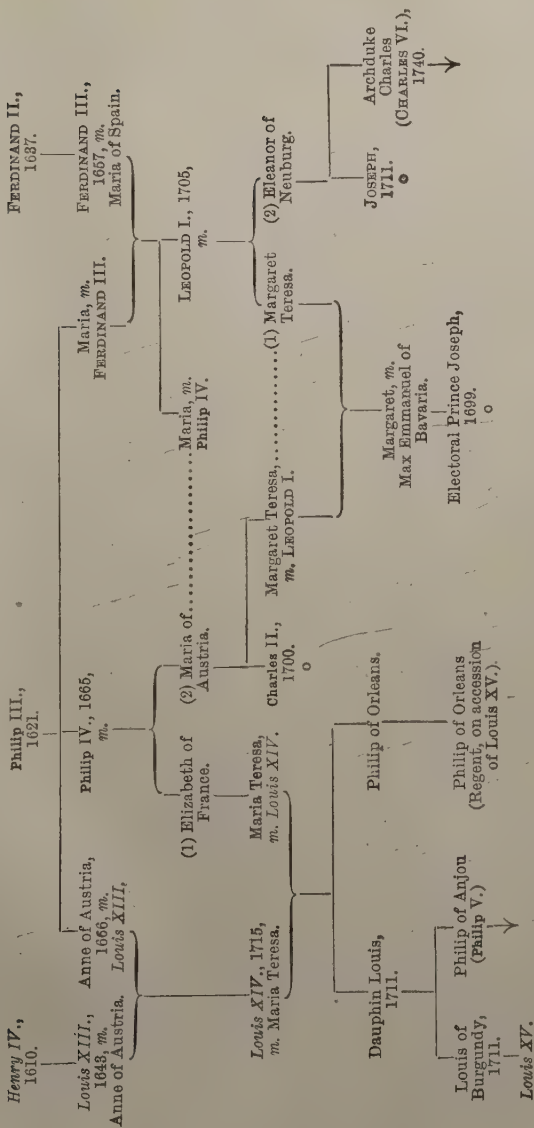
4. Act of Settlement, 1701. William as king and Anne as his heir, there was no risk of an attempted Jacobite restoration by French aid. The

last years of the reign saw the last curtailment of the powers of the Crown when the Act of Settlement (1701) forbade the removal of Judges at the king's pleasure. The main purpose of the Act however was to fix the succession in the Protestant line after Anne since the last of her children had died. The nearest Protestant heir—though there were several Catholics nearer to the throne by descent—was Sophia, mother of George the Elector of Hanover, sister of Prince Rupert who had left no children, and daughter of Elizabeth the daughter of James I. If William had married again and had children they would have come before Sophia. But as he was childless, the Act named the Electress Sophia and her offspring as the heirs after Anne. Scotland as yet made no declaration about the succession to the Scottish throne, over which England of course had no control.

Though there was peace with France, trouble was brewing. It was certain that King Charles II. of Spain would not live long, and he had no children and no brothers. Who would succeed to the Spanish great Spanish dominion? One sister had been the wife of Louis and mother of his children; the other had been the first wife of the Austrian Emperor Leopold I., mother of a daughter who was married to the Elector of Bavaria, who had an infant son the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. Leopold's own sons were the sons of his second wife.

HAPSBURG AND BOURBON INTERMARRIAGES

(FOR THE SPANISH SUCCESSION)

*Italics, French Monarchs.*

Clarendon, Spanish Monarchs.

CAPTAINS, Emperors.

↓ = left issue.

○ = left no issue.

But there were agreements, made at the time when these marriages took place, under which each of Charles's sisters resigned her claims to the succession. If those resignations were enforced, Leopold himself was the heir, by descent through his mother from Philip III. of Spain. Could these opposing claims be settled by agreement? There were three claimants—the younger grandson of the queen of France, the grandson of the Austrian empress, and the younger son of the Austrian emperor—for Europe could not afford to let the heir of either the French or the imperial crown succeed also to that of Spain. A partition of the Spanish dominion which would give most of it to the Bavarian baby and a small piece to each of the other candidates would be the fairest and least dangerous way out of the difficulty.

In the conduct of foreign policy William took his own way. If he could not get sufficient support from parliament, he would quit the English throne which he had ascended simply in order that he might be able to carry out his foreign policy more effectively. He consulted little with the English ministers. In European affairs, if Louis and William were in agreement the rest of Europe would not go to war against them. Soon after Ryswick Louis came to an agreement with William as to the partition of the Spanish dominion between the three candidates. The Electoral Prince was to have nearly everything. But this 'first partition treaty' became waste paper when the child died in 1699. There were two claimants left, the French Prince Philip and the Austrian Archduke Charles. Louis and William made a fresh agreement, the Second Partition Treaty, with safeguards for Holland and England. The Italian possessions were to go to Philip, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies to the archduke. Spain was not consulted, and Leopold would not agree—but with William supporting Louis he would have to do so when the time came. What William cared about most was that neither Spain nor the Netherlands should go to the French prince.

But when the dying king of Spain discovered the bargaining that was going on, he was very angry. The Spanish dominion was not to be broken up. It should go complete to Philip. If Philip was afraid to take the whole, it should go complete to the archduke instead. Thus it was written in the will of the Spanish king; who had hardly made the will when he died (November 1700).

Thereupon Louis resolved to tear up the Second Partition Treaty. Austria could not complain though William might. He accepted the whole Spanish inheritance for Philip. Half Europe would be shared

between his two grandsons—with an almost continuous coastline from Antwerp to the Adriatic.

For the moment William could do nothing. The Spanish dominions accepted Philip who was at once in actual possession. No one but Austria was eager to turn him out and put the archduke in his place. William could only set to work to frame a new scheme of partition on which the rest of Europe might be persuaded to unite. Even then the antagonism of the Tories made it doubtful whether he could carry England with him.

He succeeded, partly through his own skill and inexhaustible patience, partly because Louis thought he had already won, and threw aside all pretence of moderation in the use of his victory. In the new scheme, Spain and the Indies were to be left to Philip, Italy and the Netherlands to the archduke. Holland—
The Grand Alliance, 1701.
 as under the treaty of Ryswick—was to garrison certain strong places within the Netherlands, known as the Barrier fortresses, and the right of commerce with the Spanish possessions was to be given to English and Dutch. With this Austria must be content—Europe was not going to fight to make Austria supreme, but would fight to preserve the Balance of Power. In September 1701 a Grand Alliance was formed, for pressing these demands on Louis, between England, Holland, Austria, and sundry other states.

But England was still divided, though the Tory Opposition was losing ground, when Louis played straight into William's hands. While the Grand Alliance was being signed James II. was dying.
Louis's blunder.
 By his bedside, Louis tore up the treaty of Ryswick and declared that James not William was king of England, and young James Edward was his heir. That brought the Tories over in a mass. They might be Jacobites at heart, but Englishmen would not allow a French king to dictate to them who should be king in England. For the first time the whole country rallied enthusiastically to William, resolved that Louis should pay the full penalty for his arrogance.

William's own strength, always feeble, was almost exhausted; but he had fixed upon the man who was to carry out his work if his own health broke down—John Churchill, earl (soon to be duke) of Marlborough.
William's death, 1702.
 Preparations went on apace. But the king was not to see the harvest. In February 1702 his horse stumbled and threw him. The shock was more than his worn frame could bear; on 9th March he died and Anne was queen—the last of the Stewart rulers in Britain.

IV. Marlborough : 1702-1713.

John Churchill—Opening of the War, 1702—Blenheim and Gibraltar, 1704—Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, 1706-9—The Whig Ascendency, 1705-10—The Duke's Fall and the Treaty of Utrecht, 1710-13.

THE new queen, Anne, had a husband, Prince George of Denmark, but he was a person of no influence or importance. For a dozen years

1. Parties, past and for more than seven years to come the person
1702. who guided her was her intimate friend, Sarah Jennings or

Churchill, whom we may at once call duchess of Marlborough. While Duchess Sarah reigned over Queen Anne, Marlborough was the real director of the English government, at least with regard to the war. His great ally among the queen's ministers was Sidney Godolphin. Both Marlborough and Godolphin had been reckoned as Tories, but neither had any close party ties. Anne's first ministry was a combination of Whigs and Tories, all parties being united on the great question of the hour, the War of the Spanish Succession. As time went on however the party feud revived; Whigs and Tories differed as to the conduct of the war; and Marlborough and Godolphin found the Whigs supporting them, the Tories opposing them.

In military genius, Marlborough ranks with the greatest commanders of all time from Alexander the Great and Hannibal to Napoleon. We
John are in the habit of thinking of him as a soldier who planned
Churchill. and carried out wonderful campaigns and won amazing victories by land. But he was much more than a soldier, for he understood and grasped the scientific combination of naval with military campaigns. The idea that great European struggles might be decided by the movements of fleets in the Mediterranean had dawned in the mind of William III. during the last war; there had even been a glimmering of it in the days of Robert Blake; but Marlborough was the first military chief to whom the naval command of the Mediterranean appeared as an object of supreme importance.

Moreover Marlborough was a diplomatist no less skilful than William himself; a matter of no small importance in a struggle which required a number of different States with different aims and interests all to work together for the defeat of a Power which was directed by the autocratic will of a single man—an advantage enjoyed by France in the War of the Spanish Succession and the Napoleonic wars, and by Germany in the Great War of the twentieth century. William III. in the last war and Marlborough in this war were the men who held

the anti-French coalitions together ; but Marlborough's task was the harder because William was king of England and stadtholder of Holland, whereas Marlborough was the servant of an English ministry and had no control at all in Holland.

William had seen Churchill's abilities before he was raised to an earldom : but for years had not been able to trust him. He had conducted a very skilful campaign in the south of Ireland His past record. in the Boyne year ; but every one believed him to be ready to betray friend or foe for money or power ; and there was no doubt that he had first deserted James as soon as he saw that the cause was lost, and had afterwards intrigued with the court of St. Germain. He was more than suspected of having betrayed to the enemy the plans of an English expedition which had been sent against the great French port of Brest. But William at the end knew that Marlborough was safe because, with Anne on the throne and his wife ruling Anne, he would have almost unlimited power and means of acquiring wealth. Therefore he had chosen Marlborough to command in the Netherlands ; and the choice—confirmed of course by Queen Anne—was more than justified by the event.

WHEN Marlborough took up his command in the Netherlands in 1702 the fight between Austria and France had already begun in Italy where the Austrian armies were led by Prince Eugene, though 2. Opening of the War. that great soldier—second to no one in his own day except Marlborough—was actually a member of a junior branch of the ducal House of Savoy, and the ruling duke of Savoy was at the moment in alliance with Louis. The duchy of Savoy had an importance quite out of proportion to its size because it commanded the Alpine gateway between France and Italy. Thus the duke's friendship was of immense use to the side to which he allied himself, and he made the most of his position by changing sides whenever he saw an advantage to be gained by doing so. In 1702 France could pour troops into Italy through Savoy to fight Eugene. So at the start we have English and Dutch fighting the French in the Netherlands, Eugene fighting them in Italy, while the French were preparing a third great force on the Upper Rhine to act with their other ally Bavaria against Austria on the Danube.

In this year the English fleet also came into action on the Spanish Atlantic coast, where it was the real business of Admiral Rooke to capture Cadiz and turn it into a station which could always be held, to command the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Marlborough's main object was to sever the French in the Netherlands from the forces on the upper Rhine. Then as always he was terribly hampered by the orders of the Dutch government ;
 1702. but though he was prevented from fighting a pitched battle, the skill of his movements, which pressed the French out of one position after another, established his reputation as a general, and he was rewarded by having his earldom raised to a dukedom. Eugene in Italy with inferior forces could only act on the defensive. Rooke failed to capture Cadiz, but sunk a Spanish treasure-fleet in Vigo harbour and destroyed along with it its escort of warships ; a success which induced Portugal to join the Grand Alliance.

✓ THE coming in of Portugal led the allies to adopt a more ambitious scheme. Spain, which in the former plan was to be left to Philip, was now to be taken from him and given to the Archduke Charles, since Spain might be attacked through Portugal.
 3. No peace without Spain, 1703. For the English Whigs in particular as well as for Austria this became a principal aim ; though the campaigns in Spain were of no great service to the cause of the allies.

In 1703 little progress was made. Marlborough's plans in the Netherlands were spoilt by the interference of the Dutch. The superior numbers of the French were forcing Eugene out of Italy. The English navy kept the French Mediterranean fleet locked up in Toulon. The French plan for advancing from the upper Rhine (Alsace), joining hands with Bavaria, and marching on Vienna, came to nothing, because the Elector insisted on first trying to conquer the Austrian Tyrol, where he was thoroughly defeated. But 1704 was the decisive year. Marlborough and Eugene won the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke captured Gibraltar.

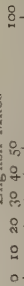
The French intended to win the war by the March on Vienna ; Eugene had already been driven out of Italy, and had no army with which to stop them. There was only a second-rate German force on the upper Rhine, at Stolhofen, which could be held off from making a flank attack, and Marlborough was tied to the Netherlands. The French did not guess that Marlborough meant to cut those ties. Marlborough saw that he must make a lightning march from the Netherlands to Bavaria before any one could suspect his purpose, and crush the Franco-Bavarian army. He could count on Eugene who had joined the German force on the Rhine. Masking his plans by the pretence of a campaign on the

The
 Blenheim
 Campaign,
 1704.

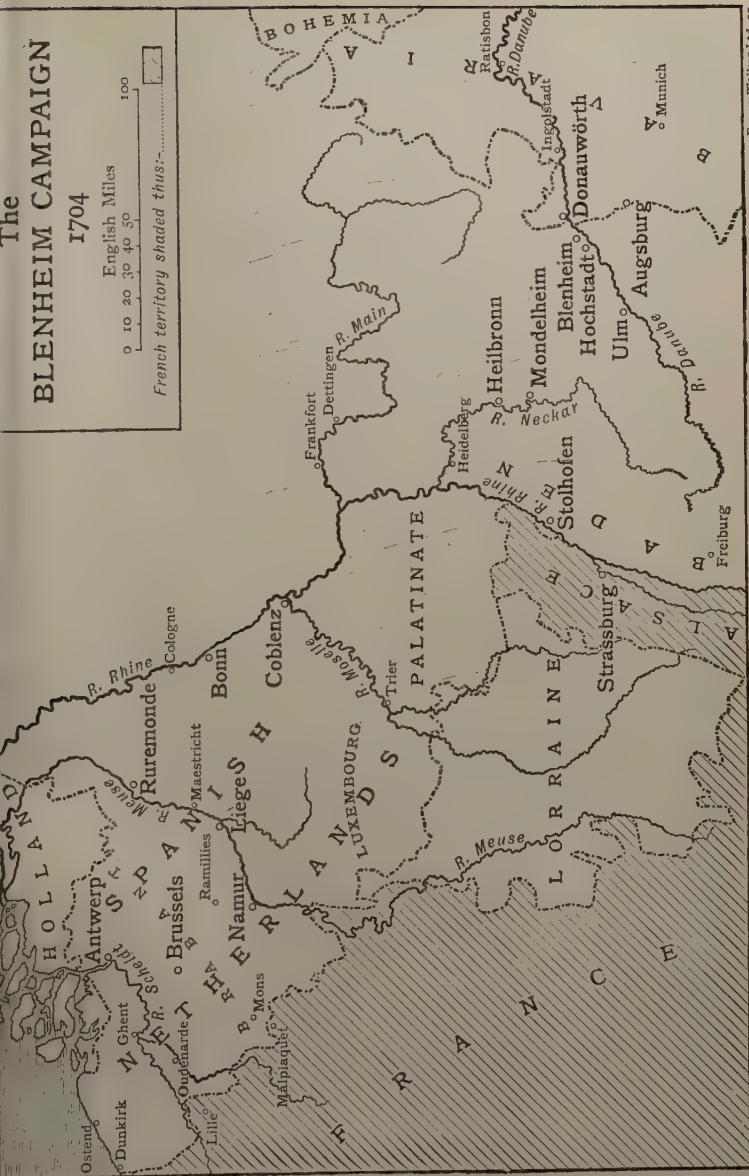
The BLENHEIM CAMPAIGN

1704

English Miles



French territory shaded thus:.....



Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

Moselle, he suddenly turned his back on the river and made for Donauwörth, so as to thrust himself between Vienna and the Franco-Bavarian force at Augsburg, while Eugene followed up along the north side of the Danube and Tallard commanding the French Alsace force advanced along its south side.

On 2nd August the enemy found themselves facing Marlborough and Eugene at Blenheim. The grand attack appeared to be made by **The Battle,** Eugene on the allied right, with German troops. On the 13th August, left 'Salamander' Cutts made a desperate assault on the strongly-held village of Blenheim. But Marlborough was preparing to strike his smashing blow in the centre where marshy ground and the Nebel stream ran between the armies. By making a sort of causeway he was able to carry his cavalry over; a series of furious charges crashed through the French centre, and the French army was rolled up to right and left. For their right there was no escape; on their left they were driven off the field in utter rout. Only fragments made their way back to Alsace. The battle of Blenheim delivered Bavaria into the hands of the allies. It had saved Vienna and dealt such a blow to the French that for the rest of the war they were caged behind the Rhine.

A fortnight before Blenheim Admiral Rooke, learning that Gibraltar was not so strongly held as had been supposed, attacked it and after a **Gibraltar** six-hours' bombardment captured it. Its value was not **captured,** fully grasped by the enemy; when it had been re-fortified **July.** it became practically impregnable. It supplied England with just such a key to the Mediterranean as had been lost when Charles II. abandoned Tangier. At the end of the war and from that day till now it remained a British possession, of incalculable value.

In the Blenheim campaign Marlborough was able to strike a blow from which the French never fully recovered, because he had succeeded in **4. Ramil-** freeing himself for a moment from the fetters which held **lies, 1706.** him in the Netherlands, and even there prevented him from carrying out his own plans. He had no chance of another heavy blow till, two years later, in 1706, he completely routed a French army at Ramillies, thereby clearing them out of Flanders and Brabant—the greater part of the Netherlands. Meanwhile Lord Peterborough in Spain was performing remarkable exploits with small forces; but Spain, with the exception of the north-eastern province, Catalonia, was solidly on Philip's side—and Spain is a country which Napoleon

himself could not force to submission; the war in Spain was energy wholly wasted. Eugene, since Blenheim, had been reorganising the Austrian army and had been able (since Savoy had changed sides) to return to Italy, which he had almost cleared of the French; but neither he nor Marlborough could persuade the governments they served to sanction the campaigns which they concerted together.

Louis was so shaken by Ramillies that he tried—unsuccessfully—to persuade the Dutch to make a separate peace. In 1707 the military operations were to a great extent stopped by the fear that Charles XII. of Sweden would attack the Emperor 1707. Joseph (who had succeeded Leopold in 1705); but Marlborough, acting now as a diplomatist instead of a soldier, succeeded in guiding the Swedish king's ambition in another direction—against Peter the Great, under whose rule Russia was being shaped into a great Power. The one important military event of the year was a French victory at Almanza in Spain. Curiously enough the English were commanded by the earl of Galway, a French Huguenot who had come to England with William, and the French by the duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of James II. and Marlborough's sister.

In 1708 Marlborough, again with the aid of Eugene, won his third great victory at Oudenarde—where James Edward, whom Jacobites called James III. or 'the Chevalier' and the other side Oudenarde, called 'the Pretender,' was fighting among the French, 1708. and the Electoral Prince of Hanover, the future George II., was fighting among the allies. In the same year a British expedition seized the island of Minorca with the harbour of Port Mahon, securing within the Mediterranean a second naval station of no less value than Gibraltar at its entrance. It was Marlborough who had realised their value, and urged the capture of both.

Oudenarde was so deadly a blow that Louis in 1709 was ready to accept a peace yielding all and more than all that the allies had demanded before 1703. But his enemies would not now be content Malplaquet, with those terms. They demanded that Spain—which 1709. was not Louis's to give—should be surrendered, and that if Philip refused Louis should turn his arms against his own grandson. 'No peace without Spain' was still the cry of the Whigs who were in power in England; though the Tories were clamouring that we were now fighting for no interests of our own but only for those of allies who asked everything from us and gave nothing in exchange. Marlborough and Eugene were both bent on crushing France, but the duke knew that

public opinion was turning against him at home. France and her king rejected the outrageous demands and struggled at any cost to bring new armies to the field. At Malplaquet, Marlborough smote but did not shatter them; the losses of the victors were far heavier than those of the defeated army, which actually felt its defeat as a victory. Malplaquet did not win the war—as the duke had hoped and perhaps for a moment believed—and Malplaquet was his last big victory. His great career was almost over: to see the causes of his fall, we must turn to the events that had been taking place in Britain.

IN 1702 Whigs and Tories were united in supporting the war, because both had been made equally hostile to Louis by his recognition of

5. In James III. The new queen, being in religion a High
England: Anglican, favoured the Tories, the party of which Marl-
Tories and borough and Godolphin were still reckoned as members,
Whigs. and when the parliament which William had called was
dissolved, the new parliament had a Tory majority in the Commons though the Whigs had a small majority in the Lords. But Marlborough's war-policy was that of William and the Whigs, which in the view of the Tories neglected the interests of England for the sake of Holland. Moreover the Tories were already beginning to fear that Marlborough intended to use the army as Cromwell had used it fifty years before, to make himself a military dictator. And very much as in Elizabeth's day Drake and Raleigh had wished to use the navy to destroy the power of Spain, while John Hawkins and others used it for the capture of treasure-fleets—so now Marlborough wanted the navy to combine with the army in destroying the power of the Bourbons, while the Tories thought only of the more obvious business of capturing treasure-fleets and West India islands. Rooke's failure at Cadiz and his almost accidental capture of Gibraltar seemed to them and to him of less importance than his success at Vigo.

Thus Marlborough and his ally Godolphin found themselves opposed by the Tories and supported by the Whigs. In 1705 a new parliament gave the Whigs a majority in the Commons as well as in
Whig ascendency, the Lords, Duchess Sarah ruled the queen, and the queen
1705-10. took nearly, though not quite, the whole of her Council—her ministers—from the Whigs. For the next five years there was practically a Whig instead of a mixed or mainly Tory administration.

It was this Whig ministry that carried through, in 1706, the 'incorporating' Union with Scotland, the account of which we defer to

the close of the chapter ; noting here that it prevented the separation of the two kingdoms and secured the succession of George I. (in 1714) as king of the single kingdom of Great Britain ; when, but for the Union, James Stewart would probably have been king of Scotland.

At the moment however, the union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland as the Parliament of Great Britain meant the strengthening of the Whigs, since in both Houses the Scots could generally be relied on to vote with them.

Now although the ministry of 1705 was mainly Whig it included the 'moderate' Tory Robert Harley and his very clever and ambitious friend Henry St. John (pronounced Sinjon), who were Harley and working secretly to break up the Whig ministry and bring St. John. the Tories into power again. Harley's scheme was, to bring the queen under the influence of his clever cousin, Mrs. Masham, instead of that of Duchess Sarah, of whose violent temper and domineering ways Anne was at last growing tired. In 1708 Harley and St. John were both forced to resign their offices ; but Mrs. Masham had gained the queen's confidence and affection, and was quietly undermining the influence of the duchess.

In 1709, when peace negotiations were going on in consequence of Oudenarde, the Opposition, now led by Harley and St. John, and aided by the brilliant pamphlets of Dean Swift, were clamouring loudly that the war was being carried on for the glorification of Marlborough and the profit of the Dutch. Malplaquet with its great death-roll did not add to his popularity ; nor did the extravagance of the demands upon Louis made by the Whigs add to theirs. With Anne, the star of the duchess was declining ; a proposal that the duke should be appointed captain-general for life was rejected by the queen. The year 1710 opened threateningly for Marlborough and his position became still more critical when, in April, there was a definite rupture between the queen and the duchess, and their twenty-years' intimacy was abruptly and finally ended.

The Whig influence too was tottering. The Whigs had always been the champions of a more complete toleration for Dissenters ; the Dissenters represented the old Puritans, and inherited their Sackville's unpopularity among the mass of the people as well as among sermon, the Cavaliers or High Tories. Championship of the Dis-^{1709.} senters was not the way to win popular favour ; the most popular among the clergy were those who most zealously denounced Non-conformity. In November 1709 a popular preacher, Dr. Sacheverell,

preached in St. Paul's Cathedral a sermon denouncing Nonconformists, toleration, and all tolerationists, as subverters of divine authority, and upholding those extreme Royalist doctrines which could by no means be squared with the principles on which the Revolution of 1688 had been carried out.

In the sermon there was a scarcely veiled allusion to Godolphin. He lost his temper; the Whigs lost their tempers; and the government made the amazing blunder of impeaching Dr. Sacheverell, who at once became a hero and martyr. Popular sentiment was overwhelmingly on the doctor's side, and though he was found guilty, the sentence pronounced (March 1710) was so light that the whole affair was a manifest triumph for him and a disastrous blow to the Whigs. Within six months the place of every Whig in the ministry had been taken by a Tory. The parliament with its Whig majority was dissolved, and a Tory majority was returned to the new parliament.

MARLBOROUGH had not yet fallen. He had no well-wishers in the new ministry; but though they might fear him, the war still needed him; 6. A new they could not afford to dismiss the first general in Europe. phase, 1711. But in 1711 a new aspect was given to the war by the death of the Emperor Joseph and the accession of his brother the Archduke Charles, whom for eight years the allies had been trying to place on the throne of Spain. It was one thing to have one Hapsburg as emperor, with another as king of Spain—that was merely carrying on the conditions which had prevailed continuously for a century and a half. It was another thing to have the two vast dominions united under one crown.

The Tory government of Harley (who was made earl of Oxford) and St. John opened secret negotiations with Louis. It was only by coming Tory nego- to some private understanding with France and then tiations. urging it on her allies that Great Britain could hope to end the war on reasonable terms, though each of the allies was pledged not to make a separate peace; she had real grievances against Holland, and still more against Austria. So far there was reasonable justification for the course taken. In September Great Britain submitted her proposals to the allies, but kept secret a part of her private agreement with Louis. The proposals did not satisfy the other allies, and Marlborough as well as the Whigs was opposed to them; the duke therefore must go.

An attack was opened against the able Whig finance minister

Walpole and upon Marlborough. Both were charged with 'peculation,' that is, with appropriating to themselves money entrusted to them for public purposes. The charges were not proved; both ought to have been acquitted, but both were condemned and disgraced. Since it was certain that the peace proposals would be rejected by the Lords, twelve new peers were created, to secure a Tory majority in that House. Marlborough's disgrace enabled the government to give the command to the duke of Ormonde, a man who was honest enough himself but could easily be hoodwinked by the politicians at home who now meant to keep the British forces out of action—so that the allies might find themselves forced to accept the British proposals.

The scheming was successful. In March 1713, France and Spain signed with Great Britain, Holland, Portugal, Savoy, and Prussia the treaty of Utrecht, which Austria was obliged to confirm some months later by the treaty of Rastadt. In the first place, the Bourbons, Louis and his grandson Philip, surrendered all that William had demanded in 1702. They withdrew all claims in Italy, Sicily, and the Netherlands, where the Dutch were again placed in possession of the chain of 'Barrier Fortresses'; while England—or, in 1713, Great Britain—obtained important commercial concessions. Also France and Spain gave the pledge that Philip v., acknowledged as king of Spain, should not succeed to the crown of France even if—as seemed probable—it should fall to him by inheritance as the imperial crown had fallen to his rival Charles of Austria (Emperor Charles vi.). On the other hand, Charles did not get quite all that the Grand Alliance had asked for him; he got the Netherlands and the disputed territories in Italy, but Sicily was given as a kingdom to the duke of Savoy in exchange for Sardinia.

The great additional gains which had not been included in the original demands of the allies fell to Great Britain. She retained as her own the two Mediterranean naval stations which she had captured, Gibraltar and Minorca, while France was pledged to dismantle Dunkirk so that it should no longer be a fortified port. The French finally surrendered to her the American territories which had long been in dispute, the Hudson Bay or Prince Rupert's Land territory north of the French colony of Canada or Quebec, and the colony of Acadie on the south of the St. Lawrence: while they still retained fishing rights off Newfoundland. In the West Indies, St. Kitts passed to Great Britain. The trading rights granted included what was called the *Assiento*, the right to send one trading vessel annually

to Spanish America, and the exclusive right of importing negro slaves there. Finally France renounced the cause of the exiled Stewarts and pledged herself to recognise the Hanoverian succession.

The other Powers had excuse enough for complaining that Great Britain had used the joint successes of the allies to make a private bargain to her own advantage behind their backs, yet she **A stain.** could fairly retort that her services to them were not unfairly rewarded. But there were two points in her conduct for which no decent excuse can be found; her dishonourable desertion of her allies in the field in 1712 when she was professedly working with them, and her desertion of the people of Catalonia. The Catalans, with ample justification, had revolted against Spain under solemn pledges of protection from England. Those pledges were torn up. Catalonia was handed over to the tender mercies of the Spanish government, and suffered in full measure the penalties of rebellion.

V. The Union : 1702-7. The Succession : 1713-14.

Feeling in Scotland—The Union achieved—The Whig Triumph.

THE Union of England and Scotland in 1707 was an event of the utmost importance. Two separate states, linked together politically by nothing but the one fact that the king or queen of the one **i. The link.** had also been king or queen of the other for a century, were now joined together as a single state ruled by one sovereign authority—‘the king in parliament’: the parliament not of England or of Scotland but of Great Britain. From 1603 to 1649 the Crowns had been united; the death of Charles I. broke the link between the two states. After the battle of Worcester and the flight of Charles II. in 1651, the Commonwealth of England had imposed upon Scotland a union under the sovereign set up in England. The Restoration of 1660 did away with the new bond, but restored the old link of the Crown. By choice of both countries, that link was retained at the revolution of 1688/9, to hold good during the lives of Mary, William, and Anne, or their offspring. In 1702, when Anne came to the throne, England had decided whom to choose as her heir; Scotland had not. It was quite possible therefore that on her death the link would be severed again.

The link had one distinct advantage for both countries; it kept them from fighting each other. To England this was of great importance, because in the past whenever a king of England was drawn into war with

France she was always threatened with a Scots war as well : whereas while the crowns were united, she only had to guard her shores from invasion by sea. But though Scotland was secured from attack, she was also deprived of her old power of attacking Its benefits. England at inconvenient moments, and of making separate alliances. The king of England had rivals or enemies abroad ; the king of Scotland had not. Therefore the king of England and Scotland made alliances or quarrelled with other Powers in the way which suited him as king of England, taking Scotland with him. Thus Scotland was always doubtful whether the link was really to her benefit.

During the reign of William she was coming very distinctly to the conclusion that it was not, but that she might gain greatly if the union was made much closer. The smaller and poorer country Scottish dis- was dependent on the richer and larger. Union at all satisfaction. was worth while only if she enjoyed fully all the trading and commercial rights of the English, and if the king of Scotland gave as much care and attention to her interests as to those of his bigger kingdom. As matters stood, England treated her as a commercial rival whose prosperity would injure her own commerce. Tariff walls shut her goods out of the English markets, and the Navigation Acts cut her out of the trade with the English colonies, and any share in the English carrying trade. England kept her king so busy that he could not spare attention for his other kingdom—as was shown by William's carelessness in the Glencoe affair. The Scots had designed a great commercial enterprise, a colony on the Isthmus of Darien between North and South America ; it had failed disastrously, ruining a great number of Scots ; and all Scotland believed that it had been deliberately wrecked by English jealousy, which had robbed it of the Crown's support. If for commercial purposes English and Scots were treated as one people, and if the government were as careful of Scottish as of English interests, Scotland would profit by union, but not otherwise. If the link of the Crown were transformed into a union on those terms, it would be worth preserving ; if not, it would be better abolished.

These were the plain practical reasons which led the shrewder Scottish statesmen to desire a closer union in preference to separation—but perhaps separation in preference to the existing state of Objections things. On the other hand there were strong reasons, of senti- sentimental not practical, which led many Scots to prefer ment. downright separation. In the first place, Jacobite sentiment, loyalty to the House of Stewart, was much more widely spread than in England.

The Stewarts were the heirs of the national hero Robert Bruce. They had reigned in Scotland for more than three hundred years. No one could think of the Elector of Hanover as a Stewart; half Scotland in its heart would rather have the Stewart back again even if he were a Catholic. In the second place, national sentiment craved for independence. Scotland was proud of having defied all her great neighbour's attempts to force her to subjection, yet because the king of Scotland sat on the throne of England, she was obliged to follow in England's wake, to be herself treated as of no serious account. As for a closer union, would the commercial gains make up for the fact that the wishes of the English would outweigh those of the Scots, and the voice of England would impose English laws, institutions, and religion upon the people of Scotland?

What was the attitude of England on the question during the last forty years of the seventeenth century? It was one of indifference to English Scotland's claims. The link of the Crowns was all that indifference. England wanted. So long as Scotland had no power to interfere with English policy, she might be disregarded. There was no reason to make commercial concessions, to allow Scottish merchants to compete with English merchants on equal terms—Scotland had nothing to give in exchange. English merchants honestly though mistakenly believed that they would suffer; they could see no material advantage to England in a closer union. William was wiser; the last public action of his life was to urge, not for the first time, a conference to discuss a closer union.

THE Whig leaders took William's view; the Tories inclined to oppose it, because it was William's. The conference was held between English and Scots commissioners in Anne's first years, but it broke down; the English were not yet awake to the importance of reaching a satisfactory settlement; the only body of opinion strongly in favour of an incorporating union combining the parliaments as well as the crowns of the two countries was that of the Scottish Whigs or Court Party. Opposed to it were the Scottish Nationalists, who wanted either to accept the Hanoverian succession while reducing the powers of the Crown so that the king would be a mere figure-head or else to abolish it altogether, and the Jacobites, whose main object was not independence but the Jacobite succession. Queensberry, the Whig leader, managed the position with great skill. In 1703 the Scots parliament passed a Bill of Security declaring that

2. The
Conference
of 1702.

a successor to Anne should be chosen who should not be the successor chosen by England—unless free trade were first secured, with guarantees for the maintenance of Scottish laws and institutions. *Act of Security, 1703-4.* If Anne died, and Scotland declared for James and allied herself with France, there would be trouble. Anne accepted the Act of Security with some changes, in 1704, when Blenheim gave the Whigs the ascendancy in England.

The Whigs were in favour of union. To satisfy England they passed measures against the Scots which were to be enforced unless the Act of Security were withdrawn; but they also proposed another joint commission to discuss the terms of a Treaty of Union. In fact they had at last realised that union was worth paying for, and that even the link would be broken unless the Scots got their price. Also they knew that no English interests would really suffer from the giving of what the Scots asked.

In fact, sober common-sense recognised that the union desired by Queensberry would benefit both countries; though there was a serious danger that mutual suspicions, the common disposition to concede nothing that could be withheld, and the fervour of Scottish Nationalist sentiment, might make acceptance of any union impossible without civil war.

Common-sense triumphed. The Commission was appointed and met in 1706. It agreed upon terms; both countries accepted the Hanoverian succession; sixteen Scottish peers elected for life by the much larger body of peers were to sit in the House of Lords; Scotland was to send forty-five members to the House of Commons; there was to be complete freedom of trade; questions of revenue were fairly adjusted; Scotland was to keep her own laws and institutions.

*Treaty
and Acts
of Union,
1706-7.*

The Commissioners having agreed upon the treaty, it remained for the parliaments of the two kingdoms to confirm it. With great difficulty and not without bribery it was piloted though the Scots parliament which added to it an Act securing the Scottish Presbyterian Church against interference. On 16th January 1707 the Bill was through. On 6th April the English Bill was through, and both received the Royal Assent. The two kingdoms had become one. Yet forty years were still to pass before the mass of the Scottish people were reconciled to the loss of their independence as a separate sovereign state.



THE war was over in 1713, but Great Britain still had a critical hour before her. Anne's life was not likely to last long. The country in 1688 had determined that no Roman Catholic should sit on the English throne; but even the old Cavaliers had been satisfied then because it seemed certain that the line of succession would still continue to descendants of the Royal Martyr Charles I., since not only Mary and Anne but William also were his grandchildren. While any of those three or their descendants were on the throne, the Cavalier could feel that he might be loyal both to them and to the memory of Charles I. But the Act of Settlement in 1701 had been a strain on Royalist sentiment, although it had no alternative if the Protestant succession was to be maintained. In 1713 the strain on sentiment had become still more severe, for the Hanoverian succession meant that in a very short time the king of Great Britain would be an elderly German prince, unattractive and thoroughly un-English, whose only connection with Great Britain lay in the fact that one of his grandmothers was the daughter of James I. and VI.

The Tories then, as a party, were pledged to the Hanoverian succession; a large proportion of them were convinced that it was necessary though they might not like it; but a large proportion also was Jacobite at heart, much readier to be loyal to a Stewart even though a Catholic than to a German even though a Protestant. Still the fact remained that to call openly for a Jacobite restoration would be treason.

The Tories were in power, and the Tories made the peace. They retained their majority when parliament was dissolved and a new one was summoned in 1714. The Tory Mrs. Masham had the ear of the queen. But the party was under suspicion of Jacobitism, and it was certain that when George of Hanover became king of Great Britain, Whigs not Tories would be his ministers. It appeared to be the aim of the Tory chief, Oxford (Harley), to reconcile Whigs and moderate Tories. But St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) was not content with second place. He meant to get rid of Oxford, take the power into his own hands—and keep it. There was only one way to keep it, and that was to set the Stewart Prince James—James III. to the Jacobites, the Chevalier to the Tories, the Pretender to the Whigs—on the throne after Anne, instead of the Hanoverian. To that end he plotted and intrigued, gathering together all who had Jacobite leanings. Mrs. Masham worked on his behalf with the queen. Once rid of Oxford, he could fill every post with his

Boling-
broke's
schemes,
1714.

partisans; all the machinery would be in his own hands; when the moment arrived, the queen would declare for her brother.

He very nearly succeeded. On 27th July (1714) Oxford was dismissed. But it was too late. Bolingbroke needed a fortnight—a week perhaps. He was only given three days. On the 30th, Anne had a stroke of apoplexy. The Council—the ministers—met. But there were other members of the Council besides ministers, who had the right of attending though in practice they never did. The Whigs were ready for the emergency; two great Whig peers, the dukes of Argyll and Somerset, entered the Council-chamber ‘to give their assistance.’ Bolingbroke dared not declare himself—he would have been arrested on the spot for treason. No one had yet been appointed to Oxford’s office of lord-treasurer. In the presence of Argyll and Somerset, Bolingbroke dared only to seek safety by proposing that it should be given to the one Whig minister, Shrewsbury. The dying queen confirmed the appointment. All the members of the Council were summoned—Whig or Tory. The whole body acted together as the government, but it was the Whigs who directed their action. The cup had been dashed from Bolingbroke’s very lips. In the early morning of 1st August the queen was dead, and George of Hanover was proclaimed king. The seal was set upon the Whig Revolution.

The Whig
coup d’état,
30th July.

G. R.,
1st August.

CHRONOLOGY

1685-1714.

GREAT BRITAIN.

- 1685-88. JAMES II. and VII.
- 1685. Monmouth’s Rebellion.
- 1687-8. Declarations of Indulgence.
- 1688. The Seven Bishops.
(Nov.) Landing of William of Orange.
(Dec.) Flight of James II.
- 1689. Declaration of Right.
- 1689-1702. WILLIAM III. and MARY II. (to 1694).
- 1689. Bill of Rights.
Mutiny Act.
Toleration Act.
Battle of Killiecrankie.
Siege of Londonderry.

EUROPE.

- 1685. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
- 1687. Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg. (See 1701.)
- 1688. Louis attacks Palatinate. League of Augsburg formed.

- 1689-97. War (of League of Augsburg) with France.
1690. Battle of Beachy Head.
Battle of the Boyne.
1691. Preston's Plot.
Capitulation of Limerick.
Grand Alliance.
1692. Battle of La Hogue.
Massacre of Glencoe.
- 1692-96. Ireland: Catholic Penal Laws.
1694. National Debt, and Bank of England (p. 309).
1696. Barclay's Plot.
1697. First 'Party' Ministry.
Treaty of Ryswick.
1698. First Partition Treaty.
- 1698-99. Darien Scheme.
1700. Second Partition Treaty.
1701. Act of Settlement.
Judges made irremovable.
- 1702-14. QUEEN ANNE.
1702. War declared on France.
1704. Scottish Act of Security.
Battle of Blenheim.
Capture of Gibraltar.
1706. Ramillies.
1707. Union of England and Scotland.
1708. Oudenarde.
Capture of Minorca.
1709. Malplaquet.
1710. Sacheverell's trial.
1711. Marlborough dismissed.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
1714. Accession of George I.
1697. Charles XII. king of Sweden.
1700. Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV., accepts the undivided Spanish dominion.
1701. Louis acknowledges 'James III.' Grand Alliance against him.
Kingdom of Prussia created.
Frederick I.
1703. The allies claim Spain.
1705. Joseph I. emperor.
1709. Charles XII. overthrown by Peter the Great.
1711. Charles VI. emperor.
1713. Frederick William I. king of Prussia.
Bourbon monarchy established in Spain. Spanish Netherlands become Austrian Netherlands.

STATUTES AND ORDINANCES, 1685-1714

Declarations of Indulgence, 1687 and 1688, suspends the statutes against Romanists and Dissenters.

The *Declaration of Right*, 1689, becomes a statute in the form of the **Bill of Rights** in the same year. It lays down a series of constitutional principles. (1) The king has no power to suspend laws, or generally to dispense with them in particular cases. (2) The king may not levy money by prerogative without a grant of parliament. (3) A standing army may not be maintained in time of peace without consent of parliament. (4) Parliament has a right to freedom of speech and debate, and free election of its members. (5) Subjects have a right to present petitions to the king. (6) Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

The **Mutiny Act** of 1689 provides for proper control of the army by the officers, and so makes it possible to maintain a standing army; but only provided that parliament meets annually to renew the Act and to vote the monies for the payment of troops.

The **Toleration Act**, 1689, abolished the penalties imposed on Nonconformists, though still requiring conformity to the established Church as a condition of full civil and political rights.

The **Irish Penal Laws** against Roman Catholics, 1692-6—(1) Exclude them from all appointments, civil, military, and judicial, and from Parliament. (2) Prohibit Roman Catholic schools. (3) Forbid them to carry arms. (4) Roman Catholics cannot purchase land, or otherwise acquire it. (5) The Roman Catholic sons share inherited land; but a Protestant son takes the whole estate.

The **Triennial Act**, 1698, limits the life of a parliament to three years, and requires parliament to be summoned not less than once in three years.

The **Succession Act**, in 1701, secures the course of the succession to the Princess Anne, and after her to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her issue, as the Protestant family nearest in descent from James I. It also forbids the sovereign to leave England without consent of Parliament, or to bestow offices on or make grants to a foreigner. Finally, it makes the Judges removable not at the king's pleasure, but only on petition from both Houses of Parliament.

The (Scottish) **Act of Security**, 1704, declared that unless fresh and satisfactory terms of union were arranged before the death of Queen Anne, the crown of Scotland should go to some person other than Anne's successor in the throne of England.

The Acts of Union in 1707 declare that the kingdoms are to be united under the title of Great Britain; that there are to be sixteen Scottish peers and forty-five members sitting for Scottish constituencies in the Parliament of Great Britain; that the Church and the legal system established in Scotland are to be preserved; that the Scots are to possess all English commercial privileges and rights.

THE STANDING ARMY

THE standing or professional army, troops which remain with the colours under military discipline in time of peace instead of returning to civil employment, was born in the great Civil War. The king's army was made up partly of the volunteers brought with them by the country gentlemen, partly by Commissions of Array in the Royalist counties; the parliament's army partly by volunteers, partly by the London trained-bands, partly by the shire-levy machinery in the Roundhead shires. Each district paid for the musters it provided. When Cromwell started the New Model in 1644-5, his men were voluntarily enlisted—unwilling soldiers would not serve his purpose: they were paid not by the district but by the State; they were put into the red coats which became the British Army uniform; and they were not disbanded, but remained under arms—most of them—till the Restoration. Even then some of them, regiments of General Monk's, were retained and became 'the Guards.' Other regiments were raised on one excuse or other, and were not disbanded, under Charles II. and James II. The Mutiny Act of 1689 transformed them into an army kept continuously under military discipline from year to year, in such numbers as parliament chose to sanction—cut down at the end of William's reign, but greatly raised again during Marlborough's wars. The troops were raised by voluntary enlistment, but also in part by drafts of convicts who were allowed in this way to escape the legal penalty of their crimes; the officers were appointed by commissions from the king (or queen). Thenceforth there is a British Regular Army recruited not by compulsion but by voluntary enlistment.

CHAPTER IX

AFTER CHARLES I. : 1642-1714.

I. Economics : 1642-1714.

Commerce and Industry—Revenue—National Debt.

UNDER the later Stewarts—that is, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the death of Queen Anne—the material wealth of England increased enormously, because she gathered into her own hands a very much larger share of the world's commerce than any other country. In 1660 Holland was far ahead of her ; in 1713 she had taken the first place—with Holland far behind, though still easily second. A hundred years later, in the nineteenth century, Great Britain was wealthier than her neighbours, because she held the first place easily both in Commerce and in Industry. Industry is the *making* of goods, 'production.' Commerce is the *exchanging* of goods, 'distribution,' including the carrying of goods to be exchanged, for other people. Until near the end of the eighteenth century, Great Britain did not hold the lead in industry—that is, she did not produce better goods at a lower price and in greater quantity than her neighbours ; but already by the end of the seventeenth century she did hold the lead in commerce. We can see the difference between Commerce and Industry when we recall the distinction between the Merchant and the Craftsman at the end of the Middle Ages. Both England and Holland, the commercial rival whom she overtook and passed, had successful industries too, but both owed their great wealth much less to their industries than to their commerce. Both were merchant states more than craftsman states.

This was mainly because their shipping was far superior to that of the rest. Their fighting navies had grown out of their merchant shipping, and the merchant shipping grew the faster because in war-time it was protected by the fighting navies. Goods that people in Europe wanted but could only obtain from America or the East Indies were brought from those regions almost entirely in English Shipping.

or Dutch ships. English and Dutch did not themselves produce the goods, but they bought them in the countries where they were produced and sold them again in Europe at a higher price. They had the trade almost to themselves, because they alone had the ships to carry the goods in great quantities, and so were able to set up trading settlements or 'factories' in the countries whose products they wished to sell in Europe. We mean something different by a 'factory' now—a place where things are manufactured by machinery; but until the very end of the eighteenth century, a factory meant the place where a company of merchants stored the goods they were buying or selling.

Then England passed Holland by getting into her own hands a great part of Holland's carrying trade, partly by means of the Navigation Acts, partly because she was able to spend more on shipping than little Holland, which was more exhausted than she by the perpetual wars between 1652 and 1713; and the more she spent, the better it paid her in the long run. Holland and England shared the carrying trade, because the merchants of other countries, which had not ships enough of their own, hired the English or Dutch ships and sailors to do the carrying for them.

During this period however there was a third State, France, which was seeking to rival the English and Dutch. We have already seen how Louis's minister Colbert built up a navy which for some years could hold its own against either Dutch or English. But that navy did not recover after La Hogue as the Dutch and English recovered after similar blows, such as Beachy Head. Partly that was the fault of the French government, in which there was no one left who, like Colbert, understood the value of the navy. But it was due still more to the fact that the French people had not learnt from Colbert to become a sea-going people. They had never, like English and Dutch, felt the call of the sea, the longing to master it. Fleets were not eagerly built and manned by private enterprise; they had to be encouraged, fostered, even ordered, by the French government. Thus the French had their colony in Canada, but it would have failed if it had not been supported and controlled by the French government. The French in 1664 started an East India Company to rival the English and Dutch, but it was Colbert's idea, and it had to be set going and kept going at the cost of the French government. The vital difference. Whereas the English settlers ran their colonies, and the English Company ran the East India trade, not only without active help from the government but with a firm conviction that the less the

government interfered with them the better it would be. And instead of needing government's help to keep them going, the East India Company paid the government large sums that they might keep the privileges they enjoyed under their first charters. The English strove for sea-power by instinct, the French only when some exceptionally shrewd statesman led them on that path. The English carried on colonisation in America and trading with India by private enterprise, the French only under State control and encouragement. And for these combined reasons, fifty years after Queen Anne's death, Canada had passed from the French to the British Empire, and the British had almost turned the French out of India.

In 1714 however the French and British Companies appeared to be equally firmly planted as traders in India, though the British were doing better business, and to be equally secure in their possessions in North America, though the treaty of Utrecht had transferred Acadie from the French to the British.

WE have seen that great changes were made in this half-century (1660-1714) in the British Constitution—though the Whigs would not admit that they were real changes, arguing that they only secured the rights and liberties of the English people as set forth in the laws of King Alfred, or in Magna Carta, or in the laws of Edward I. One of those changes was in the manner of raising revenue for carrying on the government, and of controlling the spending of that revenue, the question which had led up to the Civil War.

Now, one part of that question was settled at the Restoration when it was agreed that the only authority which could raise revenue at all was parliament. It was bound to raise enough to pay the Parliament a fixed income. It was the king's business to carry on the government out of that income, which was much too small for the purpose; but parliament would from year to year, or by special votes, raise as much more as it considered necessary. There were two principal ways in which it could be raised: by taxes on property, and by duties on goods exported or imported, such as the 'Ancient Customs' or 'Tonnage and Poundage.' Most of the other devices by which James I. and Charles I. had raised or tried to raise money had been done away with. The taxes on property levied by parliament under the Tudors and the first Stewarts had been called 'subsides.' One subsidy was a tax heavy enough to produce £70,000; two subsidies meant a property-tax twice as heavy, and so on. The practice was to

vote in each year the amount needed to meet the probable expenses of the year. But because the treasury often had to pay the money out before it was collected, it borrowed what it needed at once from the goldsmiths who were willing to lend it, to be paid back when the money from the taxes had come in. It was this which had brought about the 'Stop of the Exchequer' in 1672, when Charles II. refused to pay back to the goldsmiths the money borrowed from them; a dishonest performance which made it much more difficult to borrow ready money while waiting for the taxes to come in.

Now taxes levied by parliament had become necessary in the days of Edward I., because the wars made the cost of government so great that the king's regular revenues were not enough to pay for it. In the same way, when William III. came to the throne and England was drawn into war with France, it was found that the war cost so much that even very heavy taxation would not make the year's revenue enough to pay the year's expenses. The only way of carrying on a big war was to borrow money for the time and only pay it back when the war was over and the cost of government was lower again. So in William's reign it became necessary to devise some plan which would make people willing to lend the government money, knowing that it would be a long time before the government paid them back.

And besides this, it had become clear that the property-tax was not fair, and yet did not bring in as much as it should. Property meant either land or 'moveables.' It was very difficult to make out how much 'moveable' property a man had, what money he made by it, and what it was fair that he should pay. It was much easier to know what land he had, and to find out what it was worth. But the land all over the country had been valued a very long time before, and meanwhile its value had changed greatly—some of it was worth much more and some much less, but every one still had to pay according to the old valuation or 'assessment.' Thus when the tax was supposed to be a fifth of the annual value one man might be paying a half of the real value of his estate while another was only paying a twentieth of the value of his, because one had gone down and the other had gone up—A was paying ten shillings in the pound, while B was paying one shilling, though both were supposed to be paying four.

So in William's reign the system was changed. The tax on moveables hardly counted, and the property-tax became a land-tax (1692).

But the land was revalued, the tax was paid according to the land's real value, those who had escaped cheaply had to pay their full share, and a real 'fifth' all round brought in a great deal more than a 'fifth' under the old assessment. Throughout the eighteenth century, the land-tax paid by the landowners was the main source of revenue; although of course as trade grew more and more the revenue from the duties on imported and exported goods grew more and more also, and it was a main part of the business of the government to see how they could increase the revenue from these duties or customs so as to lighten the land-tax when it pressed too heavily on the landowners. Short-sighted people thought this could be done simply by making the duties themselves higher; people who were longer-sighted learnt that this was a mistake—as we shall see when we come to the rule of the great finance minister, Sir Robert Walpole.

In 1692.

STILL more important was the change in the system of borrowing. The first new plan tried (1692) was that of 'Annuities.' The government wanted to borrow £1,000,000. Instead of paying interest on the money borrowed for so many years and then paying back the whole sum lent, every one who lent £1000 was to receive £100 a year as long as he lived, whether he lived for two years or for fifty. When he died, the annuity stopped. But this was improved upon in 1694; when the plan devised was the real beginning of the National Debt and of the Bank of England. A number of wealthy persons were formed into a Company or Corporation, whose business it was to trade in money and nothing else—a Bank. Just as other people's business was to buy and sell some particular kind of goods—wool, cloth, grain, and so on—the bankers' business was to hire money—borrowing and paying interest on what they borrowed—and to lend money for which interest was paid to them. When the government wanted to borrow, this Corporation, the 'Bank of England,' would lend it or find subscribers to the loan. The government would pay a good rate of interest, out of 'duties' which it set apart for that purpose, but paying back the 'principal,' the sums actually borrowed, only at its own convenience. The government was the 'debtor,' the lenders were the 'creditors' of the government. The creditor's interest was safe; if he wanted his money back, he could not get it from the government, but he could always find some one who was ready to pay him off and take his place as the government's creditor—to 'buy his government stock,' so that joining in a loan to the govern-

3. Borrowing.

The Bank and the Debt, 1694.

ment or buying government stock afterwards was a safe 'investment' as long as it was certain that the government would pay the promised interest on the National Debt.

Still at that time and for half a century to come there was a certain risk. If there should be a Jacobite restoration, it was quite possible that the Jacobite Government would refuse to pay debts incurred by what it would call a Rebel Government. Hence every one who had a share in the National Debt became a zealous supporter of the Protestant and Hanoverian succession, because if the exiled royal family recovered the throne, he might lose all or a great part of the money he had lent to the government.

As a matter of fact, the National Debt went on increasing, because every government was tempted to spend more than it could possibly pay out of the revenue, and to meet that expenditure by borrowing, paying the interest out of revenue, and leaving to its successors the business of finding means to pay back the 'principal.' And it could always borrow more as long as there were people with money to lend who knew that their interest would be regularly paid. The wealth and the revenue of the country—the revenue is the share of its wealth which goes to the National Treasury—have increased so enormously since the end of the seventeenth century that the interest on the National Debt which has to be paid annually out of revenue is now over two hundred times as large as the capital sum which was borrowed in 1694, the year when the National Debt was created.

II. Letters: 1642-1714.

Puritanism and the Restoration—The Augustan Age—Thought.

WE saw that in the sixteenth century Englishmen were full of an exuberant vitality, a vigour and audacity of mind and body, which found their most striking expression in the deeds of the Elizabethan seamen, and the works of the Elizabethan writers. In the next period that vigour was concentrating upon two fields—politics and religion; this for a time set Puritanism in authority and ended by breaking down the doctrine of Divine Right. Men whose minds are absorbed in political controversies are apt to take to only one kind of poetry—satire; though politics may give birth to great works in prose. Much of the greatest poetry is born of religious emotion; but religion is concerned mainly with the relations between

Man and God, not between Man and Man or Man and the Natural World. Therefore when the greater minds were absorbed in the political and religious questions of the sixteenth century, they left untouched the wide fields of emotion with which most poetry and particularly Elizabethan poetry concerns itself.

Great religious poems came out of Puritanism. But Puritanism when it did not degenerate into either honest fanaticism or dishonest hypocrisy, the noble Puritanism of a Milton or a Bunyan, was still too severe, too one-sided to appeal to more than a small section of the English people. Men had been living under a high pressure of feeling throughout the strenuous days of the Puritan revolution. With the Restoration came the reaction not merely against rigid discipline but against restraint of every kind, even seriousness of any kind. Moral zeal became a subject for mockery, and emotional fervour a mark of intellectual inferiority. Cleverness, wit, grace, were the qualities that men and women sought after, gravity and sincerity were of small account. Restoration society was brilliant but shallow, and Restoration literature was the reflection of society.

So when the Elizabethan literary movement had worked itself out it was followed by a time in which there was plenty of verse written that was graceful or tender or dainty, but only one great poet appeared, the Puritan Milton, who wrote great Puritan poems before the war—*Comus* and *Lycidas*—great political pamphlets in prose during the war and the Commonwealth, and then great Puritan poems again after the Restoration, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. And another Puritan after the Restoration wrote a great Puritan book which was not a poem but might almost be called the first English novel—John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Milton and Bunyan teach us what Puritanism really was. One was a gentleman by birth and a scholar, the other a man of the people whose only education was his study of the Bible; yet perhaps he was the finer gentleman of the two, and he was one because he was a Puritan.

But Milton and Bunyan were Puritans who survived the Restoration. Puritanism gave the world no other great works of imagination. When the religious motive had gone, and cleverness had become the guiding star, there was no motive for great poetry left. The drama still attracted men who aspired to literary fame, and it was abundantly clever and witty; but because they did not believe in the deeper realities of life, and thought of all men and women as desiring nothing but its glittering pleasures and as knowing of nothing higher, even the comedy rings false;

and there are few people now who can read either the profligate comedies or the stilted tragedies of those days with genuine enjoyment.

And yet to those days belongs one of the greatest of English men of letters. John Dryden wrote tragedies which were less stilted and Dryden and comedies which were less indecent than those of his neighbor Butler. But the best of his work was satire, and his satires are classics of the English language. Above all his *Absalom and Achitophel*—in which Absalom stands for Monmouth and Achitophel for Shaftesbury—takes rank with the greatest of satires. Another great satirist of the day, very unlike Dryden however, was Samuel Butler, whose *Hudibras* was written to ridicule the baser forms which Puritanism had taken. The business of the satirist is to pour contempt on the vices and follies of his fellows—to show people what they ought not to do and ought not to be like; the great poet makes them feel what they ought to do and ought to be like. In a society where vice and folly are particularly rampant and high ideals are scoffed at, it is the satirist who finds scope. Therefore the age of the Restoration was an age of satire. An age of epigram too—epigram is generally satire packed small. Of which an example is the verse written by Rochester, one of Charles II.'s favourites, about Charles himself:—

Here lies our sovereign lord, the King,
Whose word no man relies on :
Who never said a foolish thing—
And never did a wise one.

THE Restoration period of literature overflows the reign of William III. just as the Elizabethan period overflowed the reign of James I. With Anne, a change is taking place. Not a violent change. 2. The Augustan Age. But the reaction against Puritanism has died down, and a writer is no longer condemned as dull because he refuses to be indecent. Apart from the discovery that virtue is not contemptible but beautiful, the new age continued on very much the same lines as the Restoration age. It was still extremely 'artificial,' which means in the main that writing was controlled by fixed rules instead of being inspired by natural emotions. The critics of the eighteenth century christened this period the 'Augustan Age,' the name by which it is still known. They meant by this title that it corresponded in the history of English literature to the age of the Emperor Augustus in the history of Latin literature. Because that is true in one sense, the name is really a very suitable one. There is a great deal in the English writing of the time which was very like the Latin writing

in the times called Augustan. Men wrote consciously, according to rules which they had devised, in imitation of certain great models, and reached a great perfection of workmanship. But though it was the greatest age of Latin literature, it was very far from being the greatest of English literature—as those who gave it the name imagined. It was still an age in which the poetry was not emotional or imaginative, but intellectual and rational.

Satire still held sway. Alexander Pope was the successor of John Dryden. They stand together as the supreme masters of poetical satire in English. But satire was becoming taken up much less with vices and wickedness and big follies and much more with frailties and absurdities and small follies—though there were notable exceptions. This was a mark of the same new temper which was making virtue again respected and vice disreputable, and brought into fashion the verse which is called ‘didactic’ (meaning nearly the same thing as ‘instructive’); an art in which Pope excelled. The particular form of verse (generally called ‘heroic’) perfected by Dryden and Pope was peculiarly adapted for the writing of moral essays, which were rendered much more effective by neat phrases put together in a way which made them easy to remember and gave an air of freshness and force to quite commonplace ideas. After all, if in the days of Dryden and Pope there was no Shakespeare or Marlowe or Spenser, no Burns or Wordsworth or Shelley, there is no other age which can show a Pope or a Dryden.

There are however at least three other writers of our period who made a big mark on English literature as masters not of verse but of prose. It is sometimes said that Dryden was the real maker of English prose, though there were great writers of prose-English before him. That is to say that Dryden built up his sentences as we still build them up; Bacon and Milton did not. The other masters of whom we are speaking are Joseph Addison, who with his friend Richard Steele may be said to have invented the short essay, in the papers called the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*; Daniel Defoe, the true creator of the novel, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*; and Jonathan Swift, the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, a work which we generally think of as a sort of fascinating fairy-tale for children, but which was really written as a bitter satire not on particular persons but on humanity at large. Neither *Crusoe* nor *Gulliver* however was published till Queen Anne had been dead for some years.

But both Defoe and Swift, writing in the reigns of Queen Anne and

her successor on the throne, were authors of some of the most masterly political pamphlets on record. The 'freedom of the Press' had been won while William was king by the abolition of the old restrictions under which nothing might be published without the permission of certain officers of state, bishops, and others; so that from this time, though there were as yet no 'dailies,' political pamphlets had an immense influence; and clever writers were given government posts, simply that they might be secured to write on behalf of the party who had made the appointment. *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* was a pamphlet in which Defoe brought the anti-tolerationists into ridicule by gravely putting forward, as if they were serious, proposals for stamping out dissent, measures which were perfectly outrageous; and Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* was an extraordinarily skilful attack on Marlborough's conduct of the war.

SWIFT and Defoe, like Milton before them, were literary artists who occasionally applied their talents to political controversy. Of a

different kind were the works on the science of politics by

3. Hobbes.

two great writers who came before them. Swift and Defoe wrote about practical questions of the hour; Thomas Hobbes and John Locke wrote about the principles on which the structure of political society rests. Hobbes was a Royalist who believed that absolute monarchy was necessary, but wanted to find some firmer ground for justifying it than the doctrine that kings rule by hereditary right as the divinely appointed lieutenants or vice-gerents of God upon earth. In the work called *Leviathan* he sought to prove that the monarchy was instituted by an original *contract* made by men in the far past when every man was at war with his neighbour. To put an end to this state of war they agreed to put themselves under a ruler whom all were pledged to obey; and this original contract remained binding on them and their descendants for all time. If they disobey they are breaking the contract, the keeping of which is the only way in which society can be held together. The king, whatever he does, cannot break the contract, because he had no part in it; he was appointed without any conditions. The *Leviathan* was published in 1651.

Locke on the other hand was a Whig. According to Hobbes, the necessary and only lawful kind of government was general obedience to the will of the monarch. According to the Whigs, it was obedience to the will of the people. Locke, like Hobbes, found his justification in a contract, but a contract in which the monarch shared.

He had been made king upon conditions. If he broke the conditions, he broke the contract and was no longer entitled to claim obedience from his subjects under the contract. And the contract itself was not a thing made once for all and for ever; the terms of it could be changed by agreement. So that according to Locke, when the king broke the contract he lost his rights and the contract might be renewed either with him or with some one else. Of course this was another way of saying that if a king tried to govern unconstitutionally he forfeited his crown, just as Hobbes had been saying that if subjects resisted the king's will they were rebels. The views of Hobbes were never approved by the High Cavaliers, because they set the Church below the Crown, and would have justified all the Declarations of Indulgence. Locke's *Essay on Civil Government* was written in 1690 to show that there was a philosophic justification for the revolution which had just been carried out, and it became the Whig text-book of constitutional principles. But the idea of the 'Social Contract' as the foundation of ordered government was destined at a later stage to take a new shape in the visions of the French-Swiss Rousseau, and to prepare the way for a very different kind of revolution in France.

Both for Locke and for Hobbes, political science was only a branch of the bigger science or philosophy which is called 'Mental and Moral' because it seeks to give a scientific account of man's mental and moral activities. Thus Locke wrote another great Science. book called an *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and is sometimes called the founder of the 'English school' of philosophy; while the *Leviathan* is in great part concerned with 'Ethics'—how we have got the ideas of right and wrong, how we have learnt to consider that one way of acting is right and another way is wrong. Hobbes had learnt from Francis Bacon to look upon every kind of science—'natural' sciences of all sorts, mental and moral science, mathematical sciences—as all being branches or departments of one universal science; and this period is one in which great advances were made in all of them. The 'Royal Society,' a leading scientific institution to this day, received a charter from Charles II. in 1662. There are some people who will even say that the greatest name, if there is a greatest, in the whole history of the progress of science—that is, of our knowledge of the natural laws which govern the whole material Universe—is that of an Englishman who lived at this time, Sir Isaac Newton.

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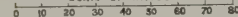
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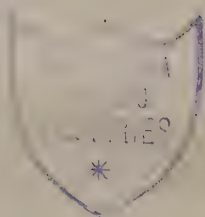
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☐ Held by the Cavaliers from Aug. 1653 onward during the 1st Civil War
☐ Held by the Roundheads throughout the 1st Civil War
☐ Held by the Roundheads after Marston Moor

☐ Held by the Cavaliers from Aug. 1653 onward during the 1st Civil War
☐ Held by the Roundheads throughout the 1st Civil War
☐ Held by the Roundheads after Marston Moor

Scale of Miles





IRELAND IN TUDOR AND STUART TIMES

Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50





CENTRAL EUROPE 1558-1658

- Boundary of the Empire 1558*
 - Possessions of the Spanish Hapsburgs 1558*
 - Boundary of the United Provinces from 1609*
 - Dominions of the House of Austria*
 - Kingdoms attached to the Austrian Hapsburg while Charles V. was Emperor*
 - Dominions of the Elector Palatine 1618*
- Italic Capitals are Bishoprics*

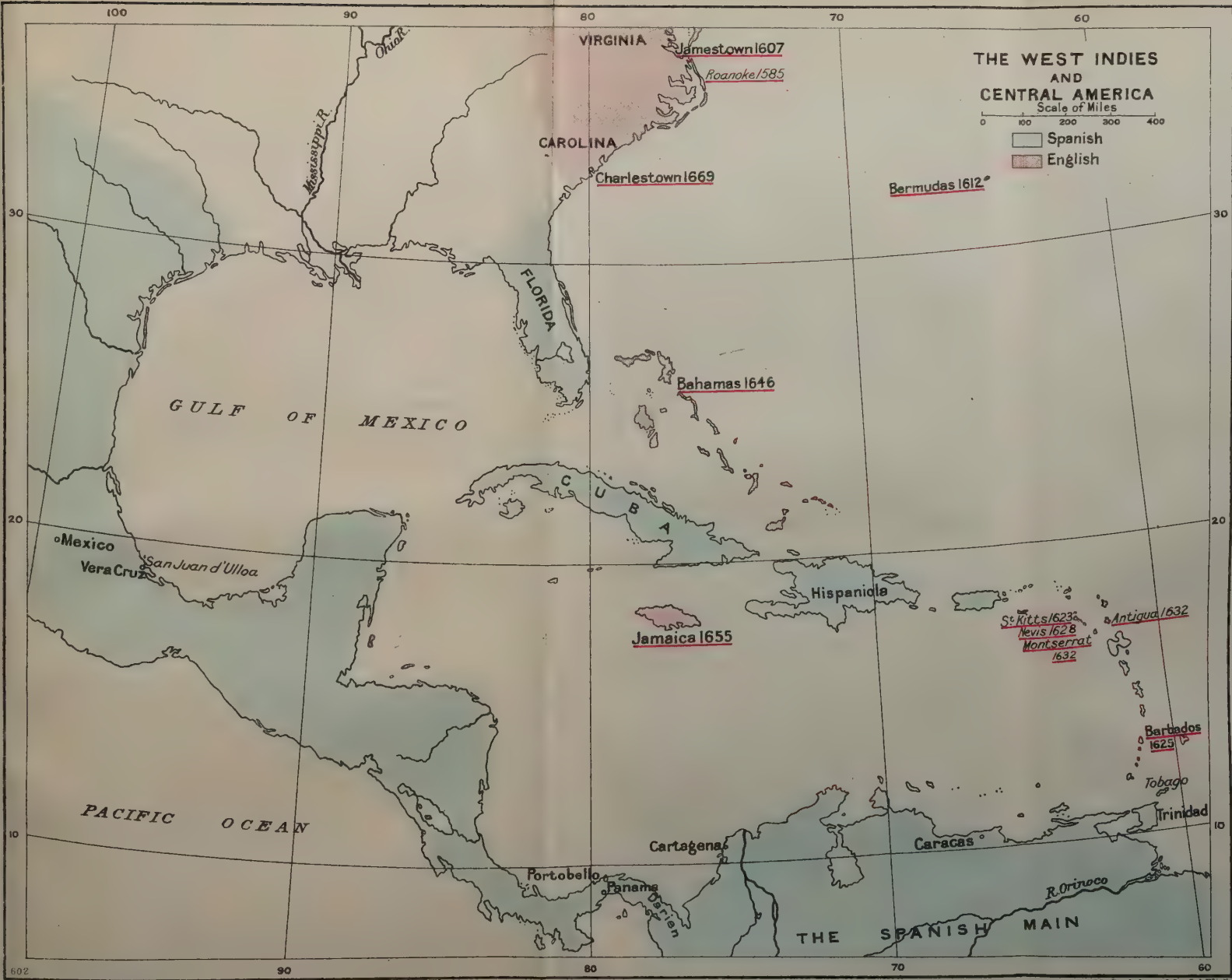


1864

1864

1864

*



THE WEST INDIES
AND
CENTRAL AMERICA

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400

Spanish

English

Bermudas 1612

Bahamas 1646

Jamaica 1655

St. Kitts 1623
Nevis 1628
Montserrat 1632

Antigua 1632

Barbados 1623

Tobago

Trinidad

Caracas

Cartagena

Portobello

Panama

Orien

GULF OF MEXICO

PACIFIC OCEAN

VIRGINIA

CAROLINA

FLORIDA

CUBA

Hispaniola

Mexico

Vera Cruz

San Juan d'Ulloa

Orinoco

Mississippi R.





